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ART. V. — *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land*. By GEORGE STEPHENS. Galinani. Paris : August, 1838. 2 vols. 12mo.

MANY editions of this work in the United States, two at least in England, and one in France, attest the favor, with which it has been received by the reading public ; a favor honestly earned and worthily bestowed. We can speak of a large portion of the route pursued by the author, from actual observation ; and, after following his footsteps in his pilgrimage, we have accompanied him in his book, among the same scenes, renewing, from his vivid description, almost the freshness of first impressions. He has admirable qualities for a traveller, and for a writer of travels. He possesses just enthusiasm enough to desire to see every thing ; and, while he surveys the scenes of ancient story, sacred and profane, with those kindling emotions, which Providence in its wisdom has given to us to feel, when we stand on a spot renowned for the great events of which it has been the theatre, he does not yield to that morbid sensibility, which forgets, that change is not the accidental lot of this state of being, but a part of the constitution of nature, “ still educing good ” from decrepitude, as from manhood, and preparing the bud of spring to replace the autumnal leaf, fallen, because made to fall.

This precious gift of association is one of the most enviable powers, with which Providence has endowed us ; and an inhabitant of the new world can well appreciate its full intensity. If his lot has been cast upon a continent, whose early revolutions are for ever shrouded from human view, and where no ancient monument exists to mark the trials and triumphs and disasters of man, we find, amidst all this, but another proof of that system of compensation, which pervades the universe, in the strength of the impressions he experiences, in the Eastern world, from the first view of scenes hallowed by the recollection of the persons and the events, that have rendered them memorable. We cross the ocean, bearing in our memory the treasures of ancient history, and deeply fraught with the lessons it teaches ; but as yet untouched by that magic fire of association, to be kindled only when we stand where those have stood, whose deeds will be immortal. In every part of Europe, there is some battle-field, with its appropriate

story, and with its succession of events, prosperous or adverse ; some spot identified with the life or death of a soldier, a statesman, a patriot, or a writer, whose name is as " familiar in our mouths as household words." They, who are conversant with these scenes from their infancy, can never fully estimate the sensations of the transatlantic pilgrim, who comes for the first time to deposite his tribute of gratitude to the memory of those who have ennobled human nature, when he finds himself covered by the same sky, and surrounded by the same unchanging objects, hill, valley, plain, rock, and river.

Our author has also a spirit of perseverance, which seems to have surmounted many serious difficulties, even when he was depressed by sickness. . He exhibits, too, a power of observation, without which a traveller will always find a country barren, from Dan to Beersheba. There is, perhaps, no mental faculty more unequally distributed than this. To have eyes, but to see not, is an infliction far more common than is usually supposed. If we glance rapidly over the various *Tours, Journals, and Voyages*, which the press is continually giving forth, we shall not fail to be struck with the difference they present in this characteristic. Some men seem to seize, as if by a species of intuition, the true points of observation, moral and physical, offered by the regions they traverse, and to have the faculty of spreading them before their readers, almost visibly and tangibly. And this, too, whether they survey the works of nature or of man. While others are equally crude in their remarks, and unfortunate in the subjects of their selection. It is not the mere beauty of style, or the novelty of the route, or the " hairbreadth 'scapes," which leave the most permanent impression upon the reader ; but it is the power to catch those features, which reveal the true character, animate and inanimate, of a country, and which gave such a charm to the travels of Moore and Clarke.

Luckily, Mr. Stephens lays no claim to the character of an architectural antiquarian, and speaks of his attainments in that respect with equal good sense and good humor. " I have avoided," he says, " description of ruins, when I could. The fact is, I know nothing of architecture, and never measured any thing in my life ; before I came to Egypt, I could not tell the difference between a *dromos* and a *propylon*, and

my whole knowledge of Egyptian antiquities was little more than enough to enable me to distinguish between a mummy and a pyramid." The purchaser of his book, therefore, is not bored with that eternal affectation of *knowledge and taste*, which led Eustace in his "Classical Tour," and his predecessors and successors in that most fatiguing of all the departments of learning, to record the feet and inches of every building they entered, of every statue they examined, and of every ruin they explored ; to fill page after page with long, prosing dissertations upon the comparative merits of pictures and other works of art, apparently utterly ignorant of the slight impression, which mere description can make, of the most interesting monuments of human genius. Their minute details are beyond the reach of written description.

But we could have wished, that Mr. Stephens had given us more information upon the natural history of the regions he visited, and particularly of the interesting country between the Red Sea and Palestine ; and also upon its geographical features, with a view not merely to its actual condition, but to enable us to identify the sites of ancient places, recorded in biblical history. We have in vain endeavoured to follow the author, upon the best charts, during his journey from Suez to Hebron, and could trace him only by reference to a few well-known and well-established places.

Mr. Stephens is fortunate in the relation of his personal adventures. They are not, indeed, of a very thrilling character ; but they are sufficiently interesting to command the attention of the reader, and to prove, not only, that his journey was often a perilous one, but that he bore himself with great fortitude and presence of mind, when perhaps his safety, certainly the successful result of his enterprise, depended upon his own resources, physical and mental. The writer of a book of travels should always endeavour to preserve a just medium, between the description of his personal adventures, and his remarks. A bond of union is necessary ; but the narrative should avoid the appearance on the one hand of a series of undigested incidents, and on the other of a scientific treatise. Perhaps Mr. Stephens is a little prolix in his account of his disputes and conversations with his Arab guides ; but we readily pardon him, for they are illustrative of Eastern manners, and are sketched with great spirit.

The author writes in a pleasant, lively style, which is well suited to the nature of his topics, and at times rises into eleva-

tion, as he indulges in reflections, appropriate to the solemn scenes, in which he finds himself placed. As we must, of course, pick a fault with him somewhere, — and, by the by, this is no easy task, — and are disposed to close that side of the account as speedily as a just regard to critical *impartiality* will permit, we will tell him, that he is sometimes a little given to conceits ; that he indulges too often in antitheses ; that his tables of contents, at the head of his chapters, which cost him so much trouble to arrange satisfactorily, with their quaint oppositions, are too labored and in bad taste ; and that the description of the dinner he gave his friends in his boat upon the Nile, is abominable, and those four pages are utterly unworthy of their author's good taste and good sense.

The retrospect of a travelling dinner is at best dangerous ground for an author, after Smollett's *piquant* description of that meal, in one of his coarse but admirable sea novels. And though we should have preferred the faithful Paul's "stew," and "mutton," and "maccaroni," and "potatoes," to the *classical* dishes in Smollett's bill of fare, still we must own our preference for the picture painted by the Scottish artist.

Mr. Stephens visited a quarter of the world, where comparatively few of his countrymen have travelled, but where we anticipate they will soon penetrate, with all their characteristic ardor and enterprise. The annihilation of space, occasioned by the introduction of steam into navigation, is in nothing more wonderfully exemplified, than in the time, within which it is possible to travel from New York to Jerusalem. The fact may be startling to our readers, but it is nevertheless true, that a person favored by circumstances, may reach Mount Calvary within thirty-three days after leaving Broadway. Thirteen days may take him to Bristol, two to Paris, three to Marseilles, ten to Syra, four to Jaffa, and one from there to Jerusalem. And the French steamboats, plying upon the Mediterranean to Syra, to Alexandria, to Greece, to Smyrna, and to Constantinople, are safe and pleasant vessels, and well found, in all respects.

Mr. Stephens directed his course to Africa, of which the great geographical characteristic is its sandy deserts. From the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean, and from the mouth of the Senegal to the Straits of Babelmandel, a sterile sand covers the surface. Sometimes stationary, and some-

times in motion, it presents alternately to the traveller the spectacle of silent desolation, and of sudden and terrible storms, where the sandy atmosphere approaches the caravan with a rapidity, which no human power can escape, foretelling its effects by its appalling magnificence, and involving the passenger, and his faithful "ship of the desert," in one common ruin. But to this general picture there are many exceptions. Wherever water is found, there is found fertility, and a fertility unknown to more equable regions. The course of the African rivers is marked by an exuberance, for which we may in vain seek a parallel even in other tropical climates, and the population is principally collected along the streams. But there are springs to be found, occasionally, even in the most sterile part of the desert; and round these are small belts of fertile land, islands in an ocean of sand, yielding, with little cultivation, what is necessary to human subsistence. They are the *oases* of the ancients; and it was upon one of these insulated spots, that the celebrated Temple of Jupiter Ammon was situated.

This great sandy desert extends along the Mediterranean, at a short distance from its shores, and reaches to the Red Sea. It obtains, very soon, a considerable elevation, and then presents the aspect of an irregular plane, varied by hills and hollows. A traveller in this region would see before him a chain of sand hills, extending across the line of his route, and, on attaining their summit would see beneath him an immense valley. Whether approaching by the Libyan or the Arabian desert, the aspect would be the same. He would stand upon a sandy ridge, with all that the imagination could conceive most desolate behind him, and before him one of the most magnificent prospects ever presented to human eyes. He would survey a deep valley, bright with vegetation, and teeming with a depressed but laborious population, engaged in the various labors of agriculture. He would see opposite to him another eternal rampart, which, with the one he stands upon, shuts in this valley, and between them a mighty river, flowing in a winding course, from the foot of one chain to the other, furnishing lateral canals, which become fountains, whence the water is elevated by wheels and buckets of the rudest structure, worked sometimes by men and sometimes by cattle, and no doubt identical with the process in use in the days of Sesos-

tris ; and this water is conveyed over the surface, and communicates that wonderful fertility, which formerly rendered this country the granary of the world, and yet endows it with a power of production unknown even in the most highly cultivated parts of Europe. And this river is the Nile, and this valley is Egypt ; the Egypt of the enslaved Israelites, and of their proud taskmasters ; the Egypt of the Pharaohs, of the Ptolemies, and of the Mamelukes ; the Egypt of On, of Thebes, of Memphis, and of — Damietta ; the Egypt of early civilization, where science and literature were first cultivated, and whence they were sent to enlighten the nations of the west, and the Egypt of the Fellahs, and of the grossest ignorance and misery. And it is to this monument of the Creator's bounty, and to this evidence of man's power and weakness, that our author is about to conduct his readers.

Mr. Stephens commences his narrative at Alexandria, the portal of Egypt, whence he ascended by the canal and the Nile to Cairo. Here he made several lateral excursions to the pyramids of Gizeh and Saccarah, and to the sites of Memphis and Heliopolis, or On. After this, he took the usual route up the great river to the Cataracts, examining the various objects of nature and art, contained in this most extraordinary valley, where the regions of exuberant fertility and of excessive sterility are in absolute contact, and in eternal contest for supremacy. He examined the wonderful remains, which attest the skill and science of the ancient Egyptians at Thebes, at Denderah, and at other well-known places ; and which attest at the same time the utter disregard in which the theocratic rulers of Egypt held the fortunes and services of their subjects, while the wealth of the community was wasted upon objects of useless magnificence. After descending the Nile to Cairo, he set out for Suez, crossed the head of the Red Sea, and reached Mount Sinai. Hence, he travelled to Akabah, on the gulf of that name, being the Eastern or Elanitic branch of the Red Sea. He then took the route through the desert of Arabia Petrea, by the interesting remains of the city of Petra, traversing, as he supposes, the heart of the ancient Edom or Idumea, against which the curse was denounced by the prophet, in these impressive terms, "None shall pass through thee for ever and ever." He then entered the Holy Land, near Hebron, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of David, and reached Jerusalem. Here he remained some days, and made all the usual excursions

over that region of Biblical story, ennobled by the most touching and glorious incident, which the world has witnessed. Bethlehem, Jericho, Bethany, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea, names of deathless interest, were places of pilgrimage for him, as they have been for many who preceded him, and as they will be for many who will follow him. Thence he passed to Shichem, the modern Naplous; to Sebaste, the capital of the kingdom of Samaria, as desolate as misery and ruins can make it; to Nazareth, so long the residence of the Saviour; to the city of Tiberias, and the Sea of Galilee; to Saffad, one of the Holy cities of the Jews, and where they yet come from the remotest parts of Europe to die, and to mingle their ashes with their father land. He then turned his face homeward; visited Mount Carmel, and Caïpha; St. Jean D'Acre, the ancient Ptolemais, and the memorable place which first stayed the torrent of French advance under Bonaparte; Tyre and Sidon; and did all a gallant traveller could do to see the Queen of Palmyra, the granddaughter of the Earl of Chatham, the niece of William Pitt, Lady Hester Stanhope. Unfortunately for his readers, not less than for himself, the lady was not in a favorable mood, and would not open her Arab doors to the transatlantic traveller. We can tell him, he luckily spared himself one of the roughest rides in Syria, and the precipitous ascent of as arid and sterile a hill, as can be found in all the ridges of Lebanon; and on the top of which we found this eccentric lady perched, about nine miles from Saïde, the ancient Sidon. Failing in this effort, he pushed on to Beyroot, formerly Berytus, the seaport of all this region; and here he takes leave of his readers.

It will be at once seen, how interesting is the outline here presented for the observations of the author, and the contemplation of his reader; and well has he fulfilled the task he has imposed upon himself. We do not propose to follow him regularly in his path; but we shall select occasional paragraphs from his pages, either because they are characteristic of the writer, or because they are descriptive of scenes, incidents, or persons interesting to us. We reserve to ourselves, in the sequel to consider more at large one or two points, somewhat important in themselves, and in which it is well to point out and correct the errors of the author.



Mr. Stephens thus records his first impression upon approaching the Nile : —

“ At about eight o'clock, next morning, we were standing on the banks of the Nile, the eternal river, the river of Egypt, recalling the days of Pharaoh and Moses ; from the earliest period of recorded time, watering and fertilizing a narrow strip of land, in the middle of a sandy desert, rolling its solitary way more than a thousand miles without receiving a single tributary stream ; the river the Egyptians worshipped, and the Arabs loved, and which, as the Musselmans say, if Mohammed had tasted, ‘ he would have prayed heaven for terrestrial immortality, that he might continue to enjoy it for ever. ’ ”

The Nile is indeed a mighty stream ; and without the *prestige* derived from the historical associations. Connected with the narrow valley it has reclaimed from the Arabian and Libyan deserts, and to which it yet gives life and fertility, it offers to the traveller, not only an imposing spectacle, but one of the most admirable works of nature, adapted by unerring Wisdom to render what would otherwise be an arid waste, one of the most productive regions on the face of the globe. We are free to confess, it is one of the few objects we have seen in the old world, without a feeling of disappointment. We do not refer, in this remark, to the historical considerations to which we have already alluded, and which give such deep interest to many places and objects ; but merely to the effect produced upon the spectator by their sight, when compared with the descriptions we have previously read, and the anticipations to which these have given birth. Perhaps our imagination was a little too highly exalted ; but so it is, that, after having seen many of the most celebrated objects of nature and art in the Eastern Hemisphere, we have returned from them disappointed, with but three exceptions. St. Peter's at Rome fulfilled and surpassed all our previous conceptions ; and, after all that has been written upon the monuments of antiquity, we believe that superb Basilick is fitted to produce more powerful impressions upon the spectator, than any other building ever constructed by human hands. The ruins of Baalbec may be approached with a similar conviction ; and the traveller, however highly wrought may be his expectations, will leave its columns, its porticos, and its enormous masses of hewn stone, with sentiments of wonder and admiration. This river of Egypt was the third object

destined to exceed our previous anticipations. And this, too, after having travelled upon the Missouri and the Mississippi.

In its general features, it bears a strong resemblance to the former river. The water has the same thick, turbid appearance, bringing down with it an immense quantity of the soil of the upper regions, carried off by the rains, or fallen from the banks, undermined by the action of the current. It is lighter colored than the water of the Missouri, but equally impervious to the view, it being impossible to discern an object in either stream, an inch below the surface. The strength of the two currents, we should judge to be about the same, equalling certainly five or six miles an hour; and both exhibit that turbulent, agitated appearance, indicative of great depth and velocity, and which cannot be regarded without awe. The Nile, where the Mahmondieh canal enters it, must be a mile broad; and, when it is considered, that the Damietta branch, on the other side of the Delta, is of equal size, and that there are a number of other passages, which convey that water, either to the sea or to the lakes, which are filled during the inundation; we may form some conception of this great Abyssinian outlet. We ascended it at the height of the inundation. At Cairo, the minimum of this height, above low water, is 6·857 metres,\* its medium 7·409 metres, and its maximum 7·961. To this if we add the general depth of the stream at low water, equal to 1·830 metres, we shall have 9·791 metres for the depth, at the period of greatest elevation. It preserves this altitude, or nearly so, for many days; because, as it approaches or recedes from it, its changes are slow. And all this immense mass of water is furnished by the regions south of Egypt. For a thousand miles, there is not only no tributary stream, but evaporation, the aridity of the soil, and the purposes of agriculture are continually diminishing the volume. How wonderful the operations of Nature in the organization of the laws, which govern this great source of Egyptian fertility, or rather of Egyptian existence. From the earliest period it has rolled down this mighty mass, with the certainty and precision of the revolving seasons, generally with a quantity sufficient to irrigate the soil, and to prepare it for its destined crop, but sometimes indeed with a diminished supply, followed by periods of scarcity or famine, like that recorded in the history of Joseph, when “the famine was very sore, that the land of Egypt, and all the land of Canaan

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\* A metre is 39·731 inches, or 3·281 English feet.

fainted by reason of the famine." The Nile had no doubt failed to attain the necessary elevation, and sterility and want were the consequence.

Mr. Stephens sought and obtained an introduction to the Pasha, whose origin, adventures, present elevation, and system of administration, have rendered him an object of general interest.

"While standing," says the author, "upon the balcony, a Janizary came to tell us, that the Pasha would receive us, or in other words, that we must come to the Pasha. The audience-chamber was a very large room, with a high ceiling, — perhaps eighty feet long and thirty high, — with Arabesque paintings on the wall, and a divan all round. The Pasha was sitting at one corner, near the extreme end, and had a long and full view of every one who approached him. I too had the same advantage; and in walking up, I remarked him, as a man about sixty-five, with a long and very white beard, strong features, of a somewhat vulgar cast, a short nose, red face, and rough skin, with an uncommonly fine dark eye, expressing a world of determination and energy. He wore a large turban, and a long silk robe, and was smoking a long pipe, with an amber mouth-piece. Altogether he looked the Turk much better than his nominal master the Sultan."

Mr. Stephens acquitted himself in this interview to his own satisfaction, and avows the great complacency he felt at "the manner in which, for the first time, he had played the courtier to royalty." The personal compliment to the Pasha, upon the interest he had excited in the world, upon the improved facilities of travelling in the country, and upon his excellent police, was safe ground; but America, with the speed of her steamboats, her great natural features, and her wonderful progress in all that administers to human comfort, presented a subject far beyond the Pasha's usual sphere of observation and reflection; and we do not wonder, that "he said nothing, and smoked on." We trust, however, that the author over-rated Mehemet Ali's skepticism, or underrated his own powers of conviction, when he supposes, that, if the Pasha ever thought of him afterwards, it was as "the lying American." But, after all, incredulity upon the state and progress of this country, must not be charged to the peculiar account of Turkish ignorance. It is common everywhere in Europe, and that too among men of general information, and upon

topics familiarly known to every citizen of the United States. We have been astonished, even in Paris and London, not merely at the gross ignorance which prevails upon this subject, but at the obduracy of incredulity, with which details well known to every American are received.

We take pleasure in transcribing the following tribute of justice, and in adding our own feeble testimony to its truth. "He," the Pasha, "knew America from a circumstance, which I afterwards found had done wonders in giving her a name and a character in the East; the visit of Commodore Patterson, in the ship Delaware." That gentleman has left behind him an enviable reputation in the various countries of the Mediterranean, which he visited. We have followed him in his route, and have heard but one report of his hospitality, urbanity, and correct demeanor. His superb ship was a proud monument of the naval skill of his country, and the conduct of her officers and crew confirmed the favorable impression she was fitted to produce.

Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, is one of the most remarkable men of this era, prolific in intellectual prodigies. To appreciate him properly, he should be judged by a Turkish, not by a Christian standard; by the opinions and state of society of the community, who have adopted the dogmas of the Arabian Prophet, where human life has little value, and human faith still less, and not by the purer principles and more enlightened ideas of Christendom.

The career of this singular man is well known. He was originally in the lowest station of life, and became successively a tax-gatherer, a *gens-d'armes*, and a soldier. We were informed by an intelligent Christian functionary, that the Pasha had been, at one time, in the service of his father; and that in after years, when fortune had elevated one to the highest pinnacle of power, and depressed the other by one of those mutations, to which commercial establishments are liable, the early obligation was forgotten, and vain was the appeal of the merchant to the prince. Mehemet Ali, after obtaining a subordinate military command, joined the Turkish expedition sent to expel the French from Egypt. The successive gradations of his advancement, and his final exaltation, are familiar to all, and are too much in consonance with Eastern manners to excite surprise. The miracles recorded of Aladdin's lamp, in one of the most beautiful fictions of Arabian imagi-

nation, almost find their prototypes in the courts of the Sultan, and of his great three-tailed representatives, who reign over the large Pashalics, into which the Turkish dominions are divided. The school of slavery is the institution in which a large portion of the Moslem grandees are educated ; and not a few have found themselves, on awakening, the absolute property of a master, and fulfilling the menial functions appropriate to their condition, and, on retiring at night, clothed with the highest powers of the government. Generals, admirals, statesmen, are created by this magic process ; and if Narses has had few successors in talents and renown, he has had many in that strange caprice of fortune, which, in apparent contempt of human greatness, elevates to the highest ranks, beings cut off from society. No wonder Turkish arms are unsuccessful, when their leaders, without education and experience, suddenly exchange the intrigues of a seraglio for the command of fleets and armies.

But the Egyptian Pasha has run another course. He owes his advancement to himself ; to those great qualities of mind and body, which, acting upon the circumstances in which they are placed, are fitted to control events, or to coöperate with them.

Mr. Stephens has grouped together some of the incidents of the Pasha's life and government, but gives no general sketch of his character, contenting himself, in a summary, with saying ; " It remains to be seen, whether, after all, he has not done more harm than good, and whether the miserable and oppressed condition of his subjects, does not more than counter-balance all the good he has done for Egypt."

What our author has doubtfully intimated, we take the freedom to express without reserve. We render justice to the useful qualities of Mehemet Ali, and leave to others to arraign him for the acts of cruelty and perfidy he has committed, and particularly for the murder of the Mameluke Beys, by which his vice-regal throne was attained and secured. He is a Turk, and the Mohammedan standard of morals, connected with political movements, is far too low to justify the application to him of any principles laid down in our code of ethics.

He found the Pasha at a country house, belonging to one of his sons-in-law, upon the banks of the Canal, to which he had been driven by the intense heat of the weather. Mr.

Stephens has accurately described the ceremony upon these occasions, and we shall pass at once into the presence of the Viceroy. He was in a large apartment upon the second floor, at one end of which was a Turkish divan, or raised seat. The room was neat, and well ventilated, but without splendor, and almost without furniture. We found him more civil, than when our author visited him; no doubt, because, according to the Abernethy doctrine, his stomach was in better order, and he consequently in better humor. As we entered, he arose from his divan, and walked down the room to meet us. He received us with much politeness, and conducted us to a seat at his side. After being seated, we seized the first moment to throw a *coup d'œil* around us.

At the opposite end of the room were grouped many of the Pasha's personal attendants and officers; stationed there, no doubt, to give more effect to the scene. They were all motionless, with their eyes upon their master, and clothed in the ugly costume, which the present Sultan has introduced, and which is gradually extending itself from Constantinople to Cairo and Bagdad, and displacing the turban, the large trousers, and loose-flowing robe. This costume consists of a large frock coat, or of a strait jacket, the Turks having generally adopted the former, and the Egyptians the latter; of pantaloons, and that most uncouth of all contrivances for covering the head, the fez cap. Alas, for the majesty of the turban, so long associated with all our notions of Eastern manners, and which has scarcely undergone a change since the days of Abraham! The fez cap is worn constantly, not taken off within doors, like our hats, and is considered a part of the dress. It is of red cloth, and of a cylindrical shape, precisely like a hat without the brim, and surmounted with a blue tassel. The ancient flowing costume concealed the defects of the Turkish form, and produced a general impression, that the race was highly favored in its physical conformation. This error, the change of dress has revealed; and no man has compared the Turkish gentleman of the old and the new school, without being struck with the superiority of the former in his appearance and bearing.

Standing immediately in front of the Pasha, and with an attitude and countenance as respectful, as fear and habit could impress, was the Prime Minister, Boghos Bey, an Armenian, who is said to be shrewd and intelligent, and who

has long been his confidential minister and adviser, and, in his absence, the depositary of his power. He was accompanied by the principal interpreter, a man of more importance in the Eastern courts, than is indicated by that humble designation.

Mehemet Ali appeared to be about seventy years of age, of medium height, but inclining to corpulency, with a magnificent white beard, and a piercing eye, not indicating those characteristics of cruelty, of which his life has given so many examples. He is brisk in his movements, and of great personal activity and address, for his advanced age. He was dressed with as much simplicity as any of his attendants.

Coffee, the great mark of Eastern politeness, was introduced. Without this proof of attention, the visitor may take it for granted, that he is purposely insulted ; as much so, at least, as the stranger, who is not invited to take a seat in a Christian house. Formerly, the Pasha presented pipes and tobacco ; but there is a story current at Alexandria, that, some years since, when Mr. Salt, the late British Consul-General was first introduced, not loving the narcotic weed, he declined the proffered compliment, and that since then, to avoid the mortification of another refusal, Mehemet Ali has restricted his hospitality to the little Turkish cup of coffee. If this were so, it must have happened in his novitiate, and before Mr. Salt had entered far upon that career of political service, of antiquarian research, and of profitable traffic in the relics of ancient art, which so long connected his name with Egyptian investigations. He probably improved his manners as he increased his knowledge, and would no doubt, in after years, have enveloped himself in as thick a cloud of smoke, as ever issued from the pipe and mouth of the gravest Turk from the Nile to the Euphrates. For ourselves, albeit we are confirmed believers in the wit and wisdom of King James's counterblast, and have about an equal love for the two plants of the Ancient Dominion, yclept tobacco, and the weed of Jamestown, popularly called *Jimson*, yet we have always yielded to the impulse of good manners, and received complacently the amber mouth-piece, from the neat, well-trained attendant ; who, by long habit, arrives at the highest honors of his profession, in learning to place the little silver or brazen dish in which the pipe rests, precisely at such a distance from the smoker, as to enable him, by opening his mouth, to receive the tube without moving head or pipe. This feat requires a practised

hand and eye, and is the very acme of elegance in Turkish hospitality, as it certainly is of the indulgence of Turkish indolence. We must give the benefit of our experience to any future travellers in the East, who partake of our antipathy to this vilest weed of the vegetable kingdom, *eschewed*, not chewed, by every thing that has life, except a man and a worm. An exhalation is quite as good as an inhalation, and, so that the smoke rises, no matter whether from mouth or pipe, the Moslem host will be satisfied ; it never entering within the circle of his mental possibilities, to suspect any one of a disregard for this great killer of time and consoler of trouble. It passes our comprehension to imagine, how the followers of the Prophet filled up the measure of their time before its introduction. We have tried this same plan with equal success in our own forests, among a people as grave in their demeanor, and as inflexible in their manners, as the Turks ; and have found the pipe as cherished a luxury at the heads of the Mississippi, as upon the Jordan and the Bosphorus.

The Pasha conversed but little, appearing disposed rather to listen, than to talk. And we too, as well as Mr. Stephens, played the courtier, and congratulated him upon the security his government afforded to travellers, and upon the excellent police he had established. He received our compliments with complacency and apparent satisfaction, but with an impassible countenance. His unwonted taciturnity was attributed, by the scandal-mongers of the day, to a singular arrangement, which circumstances had rendered necessary, and which had broken up his domestic establishment. It did not however, affect his politeness, or imprint upon his visage any marks of trouble. After some more general conversation, and after receiving from him assurances, that in our progress through his dominions we should find every necessary facility and attention, we took our leave.

We have visited the four great divisions of Mehemet Ali's dominions ; Egypt, Candia (the ancient Crete), Syria, and Palestine. We exclude Arabia from this enumeration, because his tenure of that country is so feeble, and its duration so doubtful. He has, indeed, as we have just heard, exchanged the red flag with the crescent, almost identical with the Turkish flag, for the green banner of Mecca ; but he has little chance of consolidating his power over the native country



of the Prophet, because he hoists the Prophet's standard. Candia we merely touched at, without enjoying any opportunity of investigating the condition of the people or the operations of the government. In Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, we were more fortunate ; and we have retired from the dominions of the successor of the Pharaohs, with the conviction, that a more oppressed and miserable population, than the indigenous races subject to his power, scarcely exists upon the face of the globe. The first element of society, the great, the only legitimate object of government, agreeably to our estimate of human rights and duties, the happiness of the governed, is absolutely held for nothing in the court of Alexandria. A vague notion of European civilization and advancement seems to have seized the Viceroy. It presents itself to his mind, as the medium of power, and not as the attendant, the cause and effect, of national and individual prosperity. The extension and consolidation of this power, are every thing ; the comfort of his wretched people nothing.

As a part of this system, he is ambitious of European commendation, and desirous of associating his name with the introduction of Western improvements. Railroads have been projected and commenced, where the transportation would not defray the expense of preserving the communication. Sugar refineries have been established and abandoned. A gigantic scheme for elevating the Nile, by building dams across its two principal branches, a short distance below the upper point of the Delta, has been favorably received ; and some progress towards the collection of the articles, required for this construction, has been made. It was even designed at one time to demolish the Pyramids, and to employ their materials in this project ; and Mr. Stephens states, that a European engineer was directed to examine them, and to decide which should be demolished ; and he adds, that this officer reported it would be cheaper to get stone from the quarries. We heard another version of the manner in which these monuments escaped the *utilitarian* projects of the great Reformer. It was said, the French Consul interposed so strenuously between the Pasha and his prey, that the scheme was abandoned ; probably because he dreaded the effect such a measure might produce upon the character he is laboring to establish in Europe. Shades of Sesostriis, of Cheops, and of Cephrenes ! Little did ye think, that ye might owe to a

barbarian of the West, the preservation of your sepulchres from the desecrating innovation of one of your successors.

The Pasha is almost the only land-owner, and first purchaser of the valuable productions of his country. We believe, that not a single Egyptian, except a few of the principal persons about his court, possesses an acre of land; and even these, says a late traveller in Egypt, enjoy "only a life estate in them." This same traveller, Captain Scott, apologizing for the vices of the Egyptian government, says, "The great evil, that weighs down the country, — pressing particularly on the springs of industry, — is the necessity which obliges Mehemet Ali to constitute himself the sole proprietor of the soil." What a *honeyed* word is this "constitute," when put in opposition with "*seize*." *Necessity*, indeed! The old plea for every species of oppression. And this plea is here founded upon the character and condition of the population, some of whom are not sufficiently "enlightened to be trusted," while those, who possess the requisite knowledge, "are not old enough to have the requisite influence with the people." And a third class, the Fellahs, if they had land, "would cultivate merely the quantity of ground sufficient to afford them subsistence." "Who," therefore, — says this founder of a new school of political economy, which inculcates, that the way to commence the improvement of a country, is first to seize all the property of the people, and that communities are industrious and enterprising in an inverse ratio to the success of their labors, — "who," therefore, "could possess it (the whole property of the country) with greater advantage" (than Mehemet Ali)? The same benevolent motives have, no doubt, led him to "*constitute* himself the farmer-general and sole merchant of Egypt." And this monstrous usurpation is thus coolly defended. "I doubt, therefore, whether, under all circumstances, Mehemet Ali's monopolizing system be not the best that could be adopted, until knowledge, &c."

This system of administration produces in Egypt, "in the years of a *good Nile*," about twenty-two millions of dollars, from a population, little, if at all exceeding three millions, and the whole value of whose exports does not equal eight million five hundred thousand dollars; and this from a country destitute of manufactures, and whose inhabitants are in the lowest state of human misery and degradation. The

effects of this state of things are everywhere seen in the squalid misery of the population. Last year Egypt was threatened with a famine, and we believe grain was imported from Odessa ; and recent accounts represent the prospects of the present season as little better. We believe the great fertilizer of Egypt has been neither above nor below its healthful standard ; and we must seek, in the oppressive and injudicious measures of the government, the causes which threaten to convert the granary of the old world into a comparatively sterile waste.

As to protection, as we understand the term, there is absolutely nothing of it in Egypt. No man's person or property is safe for a day. And, indeed, through the Turkish dominions, agreeably to the theory of its government, and, till lately, agreeably to its practical administration, the lives and property of the Christians were as insecure as they could be rendered by unchecked rapacity on the one hand, and unprotected weakness on the other. The victorious Mahomet and his successors, after the fall of Constantinople, early established the doctrine, that the lives of all the conquered inhabitants were forfeited ; and then, with the acuteness of logicians and the cruelty of barbarians, they drew the conclusion, that, as the greater includes the less, every thing belonged to the government ; but that, from year to year, the Christian *rayahs* might ransom their lives and fortunes at a fixed rate. Still, however, this was but a temporary arrangement, leaving the government the complete master of its newly acquired subjects. And this doctrine has been well carried out. At Nicosia, the capital of the island of Cyprus, we were hospitably entertained at a Greek convent, the residence of the Archbishop, a venerable man, with great apparent singleness of purpose, and highly esteemed in the island. We had much conversation with him, and, among other topics, upon the operation of the Turkish laws, and the condition of the Greek population. He told us, the statement of a Christian was not received in opposition to a Turk, and that their protection depended entirely on the personal character of their ruler. The Turkish high judicial officers, called Cadis, are sent from Constantinople, where they are taken from the *ulemas*, or body of lawyers, to all parts of the empire. Their decisions, in cases affecting Christians, are practically without appeal ; and, as if it were to stimulate them to unjust decisions, they

are allowed ten per cent. upon their judgments. We asked the Archbishop, whether, if the Cadi rendered a judgment openly and manifestly unjust, and for which there was no pretext, the Greeks had any remedy ; and he told us, they had none.

Even in Constantinople it is easy to detect the radical, inherent vices of the Turkish system, though controlled there by the influence, which the opinions of Christendom exert at this day upon the Moslem institutions, and perhaps by the personal character of the Sultan.

*The Imperial Manslayer* is one of the titles of the Grand Seignior, and it is said not to have been heretofore a barren one. But, as all governments have some practical check, so in this case, the royal butcher was restricted to forty victims a day. In like manner, the Capitan Pasha has the right to put to death the persons of his suite, and *perhaps* the mariners serving in his fleet. We understood at Constantinople, that this high officer had recently lost a favorite diamond aigrette, given to him by the Sultan, and, not being able to find it, at a moment when he desired to visit his master, in a fit of passion, he threw one of his servants into the Bosphorus, and blew out the brains of another with a pistol. We are happy to add, as some evidence of advancement in humanity, if not in civilization, that it was predicted the monster would soon lose his office, as he had already lost the favor of his master, who had expressed much indignation at this act of atrocity. We know not if the prediction has been fulfilled.

The conduct of the Egyptian government in the excavation of the Mahmondieh canal furnishes another illustration of this reckless disregard of human rights and human life. While it is one of the most useful monuments of the reign of Mehemet Ali, it is also one of the most striking monuments of arbitrary power and oppression, recorded in ancient or modern history. Instead of a just and systematic arrangement for the employment and subsistence of the necessary laborers, the miserable Fellahs were literally driven from their villages, and compelled to work upon this canal. It is computed, that not less than three hundred thousand were thus seized, of whom at least twenty-five thousand perished, from hunger, fatigue, and the hardships incident to want and exposure. We were informed by a most respectable witness, that these wretched beings were furnished with no instruments of labor, but that

the earth was dug with their hands, and carried away in the miserable rags, which barely covered their nakedness. Fortunately, as well for them as for the successful termination of the enterprise, the soil is alluvial, and without a stone upon the whole route. The country is almost a dead level, and there is not a lock upon the Canal. There is a sluice at each end, to regulate the admission and escape of the water, but no means for the passage of boats. The work is in fact a large ditch, without science in the plan, or skill in the execution. It is so crooked, that the distance is probably increased one third, without the slightest necessity for this deviation from a direct line, and apparently, because chance assigned to the laborers their stations.

But, in *rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*, let us do justice to Mehemet Ali. His government has everywhere meliorated the condition of Europeans. They are indeed the privileged caste of the country, and a hat is a surer protection than a turban, throughout his dominions. Moham-medan fanaticism has yielded to the terror inspired by his name ; and we do not believe, that, since some of the earlier and more renowned Sultans, any Eastern ruler has possessed the personal influence, which has been acquired by this able and energetic man. The police is admirable, and travelling is perfectly safe. Unfortunately, the government and its agents, from the Pasha down, are possessed of unlimited power, and every thing gives way before its use and abuse. And since we ourselves saw at Boulah, the port of Cairo, police officers *impress* a crew for the boats, which had been assigned to us, by pushing into a crowd with a long rope, and sending on board all who were encircled in it, without the slightest regard to any arrangements for their pay or subsistence, we have had little patience with the indiscriminate panegyrists of the Egyptian Viceroy.

What effect the death of Mehemet Ali will produce upon the fabric of power, which he has constructed, is a question that excites much interest in the political world. His repeated applications to the Porte for a firman, constituting Ibrahim Pasha his successor, have been unavailing ; and the desire he has evinced to throw off his nominal dependence upon the Sultan has been thwarted by the representations of the political agents of France and England. To insure the peaceable transmission of his government to his son, (actual

or adopted, for this is a vexed question,) is no doubt the great object he now has in view. Will he accomplish it ?

The various portions of the dominions of Mehemet Ali have no natural connexion, or dependence upon one another. They have been united, and are held together, by his power and address. He has neither the *prestige* derived from hereditary succession, nor the advantage of that veneration, which the Mohammedans attach to the head of their religion. In these important points, his nominal master, but actual rival, the Sultan, possesses an immense superiority over him. They will probably be counterbalanced during the life of Mehemet Ali, by his personal influence, and the continuation of his policy. But there is no political hereditary succession acknowledged in the Turkish dominions, except in the family of Othman. To attempt to succeed his father as the heir of his power, would be for Ibrahim Pasha to establish a new claim, and to give a shock to old prejudices. Many of the Turkish Pashas have been rebels, and held their dominions in opposition to every effort, open or covert, which could be made by the metropolitan government, to subdue, or to assassinate them. The Turkish history is full of these contests. But the death of the fortunate Pasha has almost always demolished his political fabric, and transferred his horsetail from his family to a stranger.

Has Ibrahim Pasha the high personal qualities necessary to counteract this tendency to reversion ? We doubt it. His appearance is not calculated to produce a favorable impression. We visited him, and found him a heavy-looking man, exhibiting decided effects of dissipation. And it is well known, that he little heeds the injunction of the Prophet, but habitually indulges in intoxication. In the Morea, and in Syria, he has certainly exhibited military skill, sullied, indeed, particularly in the former country, by the most atrocious cruelties. But he has given no proofs of power as a statesman, and his father has not deemed it safe to confide to him the government of any one of his large provinces. He resides much in Syria, yet Sheriff Pasha, at Damascus, is the Governor-General. But we have not time to investigate his character, nor the presumption to predict his fate.

One fact, however, is certain ; which is, that the course of events, connected with Mehemet Ali, has sunk deep into the heart of Sultan Mahmoud. The man and the monarch

have been equally wounded, and the family of the Egyptian Viceroy have nothing to hope from his forbearance. We were informed at Damascus, by a political agent of one of the European powers, that a Persian Imaun had recently been there, on his way as a pilgrim to Mecca. He was a holy man, and held in great veneration. He partook frequently of the hospitality of our informant, and their acquaintance was very intimate. We believe he resided some time with the agent. His holy character had given him access to the person and confidence of the Sultan. Among other things he said, the Sultan had mentioned Mehemet Ali's name with great bitterness, and had expressed the hope, that Providence would prolong his life till he could be revenged.

But we must abandon this digression, and follow our enterprising traveller in his progress. We have already said, that he ascended the Nile to the Cataracts ; stopping to survey, upon his ascending or descending route, the various objects of nature and art, which, from the days of Herodotus, have rendered this valley almost a shrine for the pilgrimage of the learned and curious.

This voyage upon the Nile has become one of the most usual routes pursued by travellers in the East, and it may be performed with great personal ease and perfect safety. A party embarks upon a canga, or Nile boat, and, with "all appliances to boot," is wafted by the wind, or slowly dragged by the boatmen, up the stream, and has no occasion to land, except to renew the stock of provisions, or to examine some interesting object. Many families have accomplished the voyage, and fresh, therefore, as it is to each new party, the whole region has been so often and variously described, that it would be difficult for the most ingenious traveller to present much novelty to his readers. We shall do little more, therefore, than indicate a few of the objects, which engaged the attention of the author, remarking only, that it requires some moral courage to make a book at the present day upon Egypt, after the splendid works, which public and private efforts have supplied. The harvest has long since been gathered, and a gleaner can only hope to collect the scattered grain. The graphic manner and lively style of Mr. Stephens, however, sustain the attention of his reader, even when travelling over this beaten part of his journey.

Mr. Stephens examined the Pyramids, and wisely refrains

from any thing more than a very general description of them. All that the pen or the pencil could do to delineate them has been already done ; and, unless a fortunate accident should bring to light some hidden treasure, we may well rest satisfied with the labors of the travellers, who, in the various ages of the world, have recorded the impressions produced upon them by these stupendous, but useless monuments of human power.

The period of their construction, the objects to which they were destined, and the means employed to raise these apparently profitless structures, are lost in the darkness of early Egyptian history. It is difficult, either upon the spot by actual observation, or in the closet by calculation, to form a just conception of their prodigious magnitude. Visible objects are appreciated by their relation to one another ; but in the scale of human experience, there is nothing to which we can compare the Pyramids. And, in ascending the Nile, when the eager eye first rests upon them, we imagine there is no traveller, who does not feel a sentiment of disappointment. In vain he recalls to himself the great distances at which their summits are clearly defined, against the Libyan chain and the blue sky. It is useless. He cannot estimate their magnitude, and turns away, half inclined to believe, that those who have preceded him have yielded faith to their imaginations. And even at the last moment, when standing at the base of the Pyramid of Cheops, and looking up at this enormous pile, or when surveying from its top the rich and fertile valley before him, and the everlasting ramparts, which defend it from the sand of the desert, a feeling of disappointment still lingers at the heart.

Mr. Stephens has stated a well-known fact, which brings the immensity of these fabrics more within the human reach.

“The sepulchral chamber is not in the centre, but in an irregular, and out of the way position, in the vast pile ; and some idea may be formed of the great ignorance which must exist in regard to the whole structure and its uses, from the fact, that by computation, allowing an equal solid bulk for partition walls, there is sufficient space, in the great pyramids, for three thousand seven hundred chambers, as large as that containing the sarcophagus.”

For some important statements relating to this subject, we are indebted to M. Jomard, the Director of the Royal Li-



brary at Paris, one of the most eminent literary men of France, and one of the few *savans* now living, who accompanied the French expedition into Egypt. He is well known for his researches into the antiquities of that country. These *memoranda* were hastily set down, in answer to questions we had addressed to him. We give their substance, divested of the form which this circumstance occasioned.

“The Pyramids west of Gizeh, and standing some leagues south of that place, are built of stones, taken from the Arabian chain, on the right bank of the river, and nearly opposite their positions. These stones are calcareous, and there yet exist at Rosetta, and south of that place, immense excavations, whence the necessary materials were taken. These quarries are filled with the remains of Egyptian antiquity, and are many leagues in extent. I have visited them often, and always with the most lively interest.

“The Pyramid of Cheops is surrounded by an immense number of tombs. Captain Caviglia discovered the last, which has been made known and examined. It has since been reopened by Colonel Vyse, who has not yet published any thing upon the subject, except some letters, and a “*factum*” against the original explorer of this monument.

“There has been found, within the last two years, a second chamber above the central one, called ‘the chamber of the King.’

“The Egyptian Institute discovered at Memphis, in 1800, the colossal hand of the great statue of Ptecha, or the Egyptian Vulcan, according to Herodotus ; or of a king of the eighteenth dynasty, according to the moderns. This hand was dug up in my presence. It was sent aboard one of the vessels of the fleet, destined for France, with other valuable works of Egyptian antiquity ; but this vessel was captured by the English, in 1802, and this precious relic was taken to London. Thirteen years afterwards, I visited that city, and took a copy in stucco, which is now in my gallery. The residue of the gigantic statue was exhumed, I think, in 1819, in presence of the French consul, M. Drovetti.

“The only Pyramid, of which I have any knowledge, upon the east side of the Nile, is that of Asty, which, however, is built of brick.

“The Pyramids terminate at the parallel of 29° 15' north. There is one, however, at the distance of one hundred and thirty leagues further south. Besides these are the Pyramids of Meroe.

“I have made a calculation, as many others have done, of the quantity of material in the Pyramids ; but it is an operation,

which cannot be exact, for the want of the necessary *data*. However, to give a familiar illustration of the enormous masses of stone, heaped on these structures, I will recall the estimate heretofore made, that the stone of a single Pyramid, that of Cheops, would form a wall six feet high, and one foot thick, capable of enclosing the whole kingdom of France, being a distance of one thousand leagues.

“ The number of the Pyramids is as follows ;

At Gizeh, (the most celebrated,) . . . . .	3
Near Gizeh, . . . . .	12
From Gizeh to Fayoum, (3 of which are of brick,) . . . . .	19
Upon the chain of Fayoum, . . . . .	2
Mohammenyeh, . . . . .	1
	<hr/>
	37 ”

Mr. Stephens passed over the site of Memphis, whose name recalls the earliest periods of Egyptian history, and which, “for moral effect,” he says, and says truly, “for powerful impression on the imagination and feelings,” is, perhaps, more interesting than the ruins of any of the Egyptian cities. Here are no ruins, no food for the senses ; all belongs to the imagination. One monument only survives, in solitary grandeur, to tell where the proud capital once stood, and to show, by its own admirable execution, that the description of the opulence of Memphis, which ancient writers have left us, was not exaggerated. Some years since, a colossal statue was discovered in this place, and it has fortunately escaped the grasp of the *hunters of curiosities*. Little doubt exists, but that it is one of the colossal statues, placed by Sesostris in front of the temple of Vulcan in Memphis. By the *conoscenti* it is considered an admirable specimen of ancient art ; and even to us, having no claims to *virtù*, it presented a most interesting spectacle. It lies with its face downwards, and is nearly perfect to the knees. Its whole height was about forty-five feet. Its discovery has left no doubt of the true site of this once celebrated capitol, whose materials have partly perished, and have partly gone to build up its neighbour and rival, Cairo.\*

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\* It is worthy of remark, that a similar accident, has led to the identification of another place, renowned in history. After the battle of Chæroneæ, the Thebans erected a marble lion to the memory of their countrymen, who perished in that ill-fated day, so disastrous to the freedom of Greece. A short time since, an English traveller explored the field, and was led by the appearance of an elevation, to seek for this ancient monument. He caused

Memphis is situated in what *we* should call a *bottom*, running from the Libyan highlands to the Nile. The position must have been a low one, and, we should suppose, insalubrious. It is in the immediate vicinity of the Pyramids, which are erected upon a ridge, putting out from the main chain, and much lower. We counted, at Saccarah, seventeen within view, of different magnitude, and in every state of decay. Near Saccarah, our author visited the tombs of the birds, among the most curious and interesting objects, he says, in Egypt; not so much in themselves, as through the illustration they afford of the character of the ancient inhabitants and their superstitions. The superstitious veneration exhibited by the ancient Egyptians for certain animals, while alive, and for their remains, when dead, is among the most extraordinary facts, recorded of the waywardness of man. We should be tempted to doubt the accounts, which have come down to us, had not irrefragable evidence of their veracity come down with them in these brute Necropoles. The ancient historians tell us, that killing an ibis or hawk was a crime punished with death; that cats were salted (embalmed?) and buried in the city of Bubastes; that bitches and ichneumons were buried in consecrated chests, where they happened to die; that hawks were removed to the city of Butes, and ibises to Hermopolis; that otters were venerated, and that fishes, eels, and serpents were buried in the temple of Jupiter. What a picture of human weakness!

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the ground to be excavated, and was rewarded by the discovery of the Theban lion, somewhat broken, indeed, but with its various portions well preserved, and capable of being brought together again with little trouble. We were happy to learn, that the Grecian government were about to take the necessary measures to replace this most interesting relic upon its pedestal, where it can again survey the beautiful valley, where the Macedonian phalanx and the Theban legion came into contact, and where Alexander performed his first feat in arms. The site of the battle-field is fixed by this landmark; and one better formed for the decision of the great question of power and liberty, there submitted to the *ultima ratio*, it would be difficult to find. There was little room for strategic warfare. The plain is narrow, probably not more than a mile and a half across, enclosed on both sides by precipitous hills, and perfectly level. The Thebans and the Macedonians, advancing into the plain, met near the city of Chæronea, and there fought this memorable battle. One of the most extraordinary works of antiquity yet remains on the site of this city. It is an amphitheatre, hewn out of the solid rock, in the side of the hill, and overlooking the whole of this level plain, now so waste and desolate. When standing on its imperishable seats, and surveying the prospect before us, we could not but contrast its present solitude with the picture it presented, when the old men, the women, and the children looked out upon the work of death, going on before them.

And immense receptacles were prepared, under ground, to contain the carcasses of these animals. Their extent exceeds all conception. The remains are found in earthen jars, and piled in immense layers, upon one another. We went to the door of one of these catacombs ; but *thus far shall thou go and no further* was proclaimed to us, by a latitude, which prohibited all passage through the narrow entrance, except to those who had been more ascetic than ourselves. We left to our *smaller* companions, to penetrate into these chambers of Egyptian superstition, while we amused ourselves, in the sand, on the outside, during a *pleasant* day in September, under an African sun, in examining the jars and their contents. And we were struck here, as we had been elsewhere, with the character of indestructibility which seems to attach to the rude pottery of the ancients. Broken pieces are found upon the sites of the most ancient towns, upon the field of Marathon, at the city of Platea, and upon the plain of Sicyon, one of the oldest cities of Greece, — broken, doubtless, at a very early period, while the fragments resist all tendency to decay. Whether it be the nature of the manufacture, or the state of the climate, which confers such durability upon this apparently fragile material, we know not. Perhaps both contribute to the result.

We must leave Mr. Stephens to make his tour to the confines of Nubia. He examined, of course, the mighty monuments upon the banks of the Nile, which had outlived their authentic history, and whose longevity appears almost destined to equal that of the earth itself ; columns, porticos, temples, beautiful in design, immense in structure, and finished in execution. The far-famed cataract, he did not rate very highly. No wonder ; for the sight of Niagara destroys all taste for waterfalls, even *those of Versailles*. Mr. Stephens humorously observes, “ The great and ever-to-be-lamented Sam Patch would have made the Nubians stare, and shown them that some folks can do things as well as other folks ; and we question, if there is a cataract on the Nile, at which that daring diver would not have turned up his nose in scorn.”

Our author examined some of the quarries in Upper Egypt, whence enormous masses of rock have been taken, and he remarks ; “ It is curious to notice how long before the force of gunpowder, and the art of blasting rocks, were known,

immense stones were separated from the sides of the mountains, and divided as the artist wished, by the slow process of boring holes, and of splitting them apart with wedges." One of the most extraordinary objects we ever examined, was a prodigious block of stone in a quarry at Baalbec. It is sixty-eight feet long, fourteen high, and ten broad. By the under side it is yet attached to its natural bed of rock, though partly separated, even there ; but on all the other sides, it is perfectly quarried. And it is remarkable, that it is near the centre of the excavation, showing that, after the work was nearly completed, the effort was abandoned, and the circumjacent stone got out, and taken away. It is inclined at an angle perhaps of fifteen degrees, evidently because the natural veins of the rock were followed. There are several stones in the wall of the temple, of about the same size ; but the magnitude of this can be better appreciated, because the traveller can ascend it, and examine its dimensions. And a most wonderful spectacle it is ! How these masses were removed, and raised, cannot be ascertained at this day. But they will always remain among the most striking evidences of human power ; and the more impressive, because all is ruin and desolation around them.

There is so much good feeling in the following burst of patriotic enthusiasm, that we are tempted to lay it before our readers. On his return to Cairo, from his expedition up the Nile, Mr. Stephens went immediately to the American Consul, hoping to receive letters from home ; " but," he says,

" I was disappointed ; there were no letters ; but there was other, and more interesting news for me ; and, as an American, identified with the honor of my country, I was congratulated, there, three thousand miles from home, upon the expected speedy and honorable termination of our difficulties with France. An English vessel had arrived at Alexandria, bringing a London paper, containing the President's message, a notice of the offer of mediation from the English government, its acceptance by France, and the general impression that the quarrel might be considered as settled, and the money paid. A man must be long, and far, from home, to feel how dearly he loves his country, how his eye brightens, and his heart beats, when he hears her praises from the lips of strangers ; and, when the paper was given me with congratulations and compliments on the successful and honorable issue of this affair with France, my feelings grew prouder and prouder as I read, till, when I had finished the last

line, I threw up my cap in the old city of Cairo, and shouted the old gathering-cry, 'Hurrah for Jackson.' "

He who has put the ocean between himself and his country, and whose heart does not respond to this, is no true American. The star-spangled banner never appeared to us so beautiful, as when the winds unrolled its folds over our tent in the desert ; and we do not recollect, that we ever had a prouder hour, than when we entered, with a party of our countrymen, into the ancient city of Damascus, (which existed in the days of Abraham, and which yet constitutes the *beau idéal* of an Eastern city, as painted in the Arabian tales,) preceded by the flag of our country, which attracted the gaze of the wondering Moslems. If there is a dissatisfied American, — we trust we need not say, we do not allude to our comparatively little internal differences of policy, but to the great principles of our government, and their practical operation, — let him examine the condition of other nations ; and if he does not return a better citizen, and a more contented man, we will agree to forfeit all claim to the gift of divination. This love of country is a mysterious sentiment. Dormant under ordinary circumstances, it is awakened and becomes intense, as we recede from our own shores, till, when half the globe is interposed between the pilgrim and his home, the love of that home is the absorbing passion of his existence.

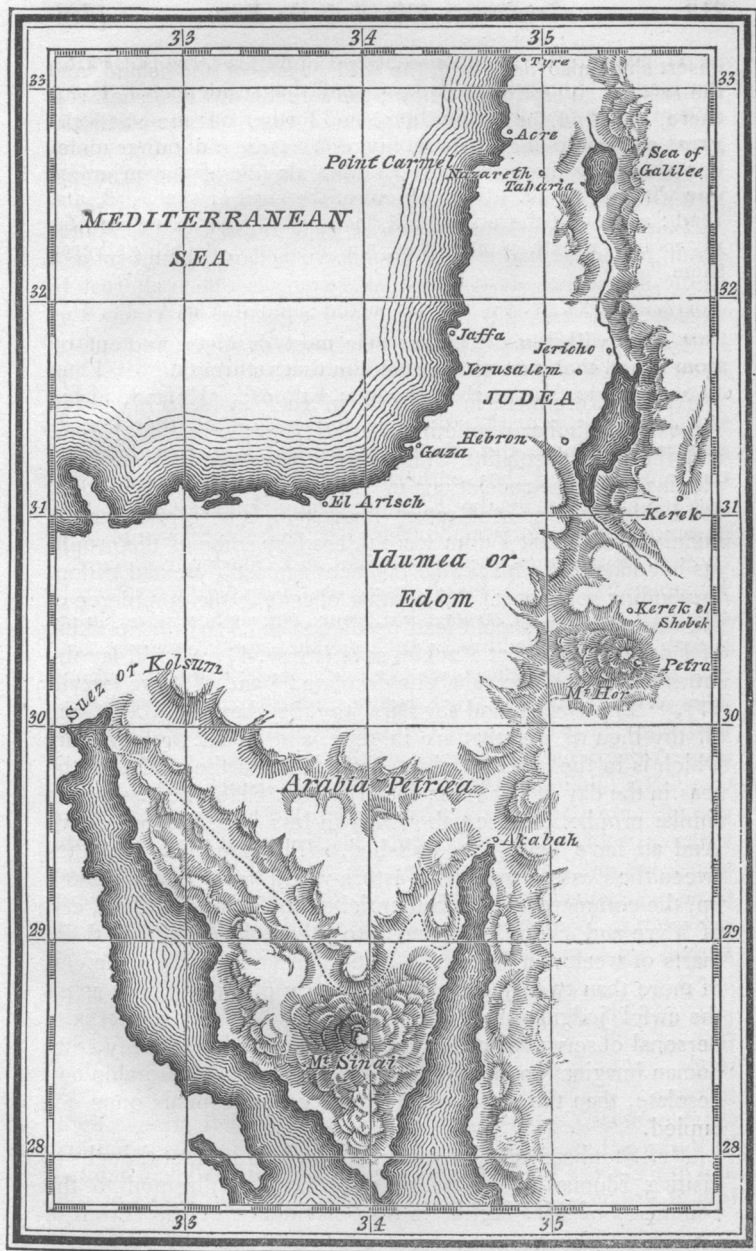
Mr. Stephens set out from Egypt for the further prosecution of his journey. He travelled to Suez, and from there to Mount Sinai. The valuable works of Pocock and Niebuhr render it unnecessary for us to introduce his remarks to our reader. He at length reached Akaba, (a small port upon the eastern or Elanitic branch of the Red Sea,) which is supposed to have been the Ezion-geber of the Scriptures, and the station of the commercial and military marine of Solomon.

Mr. Stephens describes Akaba as desolate, from the beginning of the year till its close, except during the few days that the outward and inward bound caravan, to and from Mecca, rests there. It presents nothing to interest the traveller, except in its historical associations, among which is the apocryphal one, stated to our author by the governor, that the fortress was constructed by the renowned Saladin.

At Akaba, Mr. Stephens entered upon his *terra incognita*, the land of Idumæa, or Edom, and the residence of Esau. We propose to follow him here, and further on, in some geographical inquiries, and, to facilitate the course of our readers, insert, on the opposite page, a rude sketch of the principal localities, to which we shall call their attention.

The region of Idumæa, as is well remarked by Malte-Brun, has never had a fixed boundary, because, being subject to the fluctuation of conquest, its extent has been alternately enlarged and contracted. It formed a portion of Arabia Petræa, and sometimes of Palestine, and was given as a patrimony to Esau, and an inheritance to his children. "Thus dwelt Esau in Mount Seir, Esau is Edom." Reland, in his "*Palæstina*," remarks, that, at the period of the Jewish emigration, Edom did not extend to the Red Sea, because the Jews avoided the southern frontier of that kingdom, by making a *détour* to the Elanitic Gulf. Later we know it embraced many ports upon that sea, and the Edomites became able mariners, and maintained an extensive commerce. Diodorus Siculus, in his narrative of the expedition into this country, in the reign of Antigonus, describes it as lying round Lake Asphaltites. In general terms, however, we may define its boundaries as extending west, from the mountains of Seir, into the great desert, and as lying between Palestine and the Red Sea. In the Hebrew prophecies, there are terrible denunciations against this region, and terribly have they been fulfilled. Their clear announcement, and accurate completion, have been generally regarded as among the most striking proofs we possess of the inspiration of the Old Testament writers. Mr. Stephens has referred to many of these passages, equally remarkable for their lofty sublimity and their terrific warnings. Isaiah (xxxiv. 10–16), speaking of Edom, says ;

"From generation to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it for ever and ever. But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it; and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness. They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her princes shall be nothing. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof; and it shall be a habitation of dragons, and a court for owls. The wild beasts of the





desert shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow ; the screech-owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest. There shall the great owl make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow ; there shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate. Seek ye out of the book of the Lord, and read ; no one of these shall fail, none shall want her mate ; for my mouth, it hath commanded, and his spirit, it hath gathered them."

Ezekiel (xxxv. 7.) speaks in the same strain ;

"Thus will I make mount Seir most desolate, and cut off from it him that passeth out and him that returneth."

And in Jeremiah, in Obadiah, in Joel, in Malachi, and in Amos, are similar predictions, foretelling the ruin of Edom, and the utter desolation which should overtake her, and employing, in these revelations of the visions of the Holy One, the boldest figures of Eastern imagery. These oracular denunciations against Edom were uttered by some of the prophets in connexion with similar menaces against Tyre and Sidon, foreboding some great and coming change in the commerce of the world, which should lead desolation in its train. Speaking of Edom the prophet Ezekiel says (xxxv. 4), "I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate ;" and of Tyre (xxvii. 27), "Thy riches, and thy fairs, thy merchandise, . . . and all thy men of war that are in thee, and in all thy company which is in the midst of thee, shall fall into the midst of the seas in the day of thy ruin ;" and against Sidon he also utters similar prophetic curses, though with less force and precision. And all have been accomplished. The great highway between the Eastern and the Western world was ages ago broken up, the commerce which had enriched the cities of Edom, and of Tyre and Sidon, diverted into other channels, and these marts of wealth and business made desolate ; and, at the end of more than twenty centuries, the ruins of these places attest the awful judgments of the Almighty. We can speak from personal observation of Tyre and Sidon, and can testify, that human imagination can conceive nothing more miserable and desolate, than the sites which these proud capitals once occupied.

Mr. Stephens says, it was upon the Nile he first thought of visiting Idumæa, and that his attention was directed to the comments of Mr. Keith, in his "Evidence of the Truth of

the Christian Religion, derived from the Prophecies," upon the denunciations against that region, and upon their literal accomplishment. As has happened to many other worthy men, the sin of our author came from his knowledge. Had not the learned commentator told him he could not enter Edom, it is not probable he would have made the attempt; and he would then have lost the most interesting part of his journey, and his readers the most interesting part of his book. But we shall let him speak for himself.

"The English friends, with whom I had dined at Thebes, first suggested to me this route, referring me to Keith on the Prophecies, in which, after showing with great clearness and force the fulfilment of prophecy after prophecy, as illustrated by the writings and reports of travellers, the learned divine enlarges upon the prophecy of Isaiah, against the land of Idumæa, 'None shall pass through thee for ever and ever'; and proves, by abundant references to the works of modern travellers, that, though several have crossed its borders, none have ever passed through it. Burckhardt, he says, made the nearest approach to this achievement; but, by reference to the geographical boundaries, he maintains, that Burckhardt did not pass through the land of Edom; and so strenuously does the learned divine insist upon the fulfilment of the prophecy to its utmost extent, as to contend, that, if Burckhardt did pass through the land of Edom, he died in consequence of the hardships he suffered upon the journey."

In a note to the subsequent page, Mr. Stephens refers to a continuation of the same views by Mr. Keith, who says, that

" 'Sir Frederick Henneker, in his notes dated from Mount Sinai, states, that Seetzen, in a paper pasted against the wall, notifies his having penetrated the country in a direct line, between the Dead Sea and Mount Sinai (through Idumæa), *a route never before accomplished.*' In a note to the same edition, the learned divine says, 'Not even the cases of two individuals, Burckhardt and Seetzen, can be stated, as at all opposed to the literal interpretations of the prophecies. Seetzen did indeed pass through Idumæa, and Burckhardt traversed a considerable part of it; but the former met his death not long after the completion of his journey through Idumæa, (he died at Akaba, supposed to have been poisoned,) the latter never recovered from the effects of the hardships and privations which he suffered there, and, without even commencing the exclusive design he had in view, viz. to explore the interior of Africa, to which his journeyings in Asia were merely intended as preparatory,

he died at Cairo. Neither of them lived to return to Europe. *I will cut off from Mount Seir him that passeth out and him that returneth.* I did not mean to brave prophecy ; I had already learned to regard the words of the inspired penman with an interest I never felt before ; and evidence I already had of the sure fulfilment of their predictions ; I should have considered it daring and impious to place myself in the way of a still impending curse. But I did not go so far as the learned commentator ; and to me the words of the prophet seemed sufficiently verified, in the total breaking up of the route, then travelled as the great highway from Jerusalem to the Red Sea and India, and the general and probably eternal desolation that reigns in Edom."

The exposition given by Mr. Stephens of this prophecy will no doubt appear to our readers to be the true one. But he seems to have had occasional misgivings, between the literal and the rational construction of the prophetic passages, recorded against Edom, apparently fluctuating between the honor of a first discoverer and the danger of martyrdom. "Meantime," he says, "so nervous and desponding had I become, that the words of the prophet, in regard to the land of Idumæa, 'None shall pass through it for ever and ever,' struck upon my heart like a funeral knell," and he almost looked upon himself as rash and impious, in undertaking what might be considered a defiance of the prophetic denunciations, inspired by God himself. And, after the journey was happily accomplished, he remarks, "Having regard to what I have already said, in reference to the interpretation of the prophecy, 'None shall pass through it for ever and ever,' I can only say, I have passed through the land of Edom." The fact is not to be doubted ; and it is equally true of thousands, who have pursued this route, since the accomplishment of the denunciations, and before Mr. Stephens traversed it. We feel disposed to shrive the penitent, without subjecting him to a heavy penance.

And if he will follow us in a few observations, we trust the conscience of the Christian may be relieved, while the traveller may yet applaud himself for his enterprise, without apprehension lest a future commentator may arise, and, in his zeal for literal interpretation, trace some untoward calamity (which Providence avert from the author) to this passage through Edom ; as Mr. Keith has traced the deaths of the enterprising Seetzen and Burckhardt to the same undertaking.

It would appear from the remarks of Mr. Stephens, that Keith contends for the most literal accomplishment of these prophecies. Nothing can be more injudicious. We recommend to the expositor an observation of Bishop Watson, upon the subject, in his "Apology for the Bible." Paine, as well as other irreligious writers before him, had contended for their literal interpretation, and had impeached the authenticity of one of the prophecies relating to Egypt, because its strict fulfilment was irreconcilable with the tenor of history. To this the English prelate answers, "And surely you do not expect a literal accomplishment of an hyperbolical expression, denoting great desolation ; importing, that the trade of Egypt, which was carried on then, as at present, by caravans, by the foot of man and beast, should be annihilated ?"

There are no portions of the Word of God, whose illustration requires a more chastened judgment, than the sublime but mysterious revelations of the declared purpose of the Almighty, concerning events of coming time. The veil of futurity is partially raised, but "shadows and darkness" still rest upon the view. It is not for the gratification of an idle curiosity, that the spirit of inspiration was given to chosen ones of old, and that its visions beyond the boundary, which separates the present from the future, have come down to us. The past is the province of experience and history. The present, the sphere of immediate action. But the future is wisely withheld from us, that we may pursue our course without presumption or despondency. But, to the end of affording living and perpetual evidence of the truth of the great plan of Christian redemption, some leading events in the history of the world were foretold ; too darkly, indeed, to be aided or counteracted by any human agency, influenced by these predictions, but with sufficient precision to apply them, after their occurrence, to the promises and threatenings of judgment and mercy. Their application to the past is a legitimate field of biblical and historical criticism ; and wise and learned men have rendered valuable service to the cause of truth by devoting themselves to this department of Scripture illustration.

But let no Christian resort to the Word of God as the curious heathen resorted to Delphi. When visiting that rocky hill, with the ridges of Parnassus impending over us, and the

dark and deep gulf of the Pleistis before us, seeking the cavern whence issued the oracular responses, and where all the wise and learned and powerful of the ancient world came to ascertain their destiny, how wonderfully was impressed upon us the superiority of the Christian dispensation, over the weak and degrading superstition of the Pagan world. But, he who seeks to know the future, let him seek it where he may, is as rash in his attempt, and will as certainly fail in his expectation, as he who in past ages invoked the priestess of Apollo. The history of the church is filled with these rash efforts to penetrate a barrier which no uninspired eye can pierce ; and it is sufficient, in proof of this remark, to recall to our readers the confidence with which zealous but enthusiastic men have applied the scriptural denunciations against the whore of Babylon to the church of Rome, and have boldly predicted, from time to time, its immediate destruction. Year after year has been fixed for this great consummation, but the banner of St. Peter yet waves over the Capitol of the Ancient World, and appearances do not indicate, that the spiritual sovereignty of the Pope approaches its termination. The Tiara may indeed fall ; but when, and how, must be left to Him who in his own good time accomplishes his own wise purposes. We are free to confess, that, after having seen and conversed with the Roman pontiff, and heard authentic accounts of the apostolical simplicity of his life and manners, Protestant as we are, we fear the reformed church may find in its bosom worse men than Gregory the Sixteenth.

Let Mr. Keith, then, in his interpretation of the prophecies relating to Edom, confine himself to the past. There is enough in that to occupy his learning and ingenuity. And let him apply to them the canons of rational criticism, and not provoke infidelity by injudicious attempts to establish a literal construction, equally inconsistent with the early manners of the Eastern nations, and with the object which led to these revelations of the shadows of remote events.

We confess our inability to comprehend the purport of Mr. Keith's remarks, or of Mr. Stephens's comments upon them, so far as relates to the literal accomplishment of the denunciations against Edom. We are told, that *none* shall pass through it, which Mr. Stephens says, "seemed in a state of literal fulfilment," "that *no* man shall abide there,

neither shall a son of man dwell in it," and that "man and beast shall be cut off from it." What mean all this curious research into the routes and success of previous travellers, and the injudicious efforts to connect the deaths of the lamented Seetzen and Burckhardt with their journeys through Arabia Petræa? Are the native inhabitants, who have dwelt from time immemorial in Idumæa, nothing? Are the pilgrims who have traversed it for ages nothing; Christian pilgrims from Gaza to Sinai, and from Sinai to Gaza, Jewish pilgrims from Jerusalem to Sinai, and Mohammedan pilgrims from various parts of Syria and Palestine to Mecca? Even as late as 1811 and 1812, says Burckhardt, the Barbary pilgrims were permitted by the Wahaby chief to perform their pilgrimage to Mecca, by the way of Maan (near Wady Mousa) and Shobak to Hebron, Jerusalem, and Jaffa, on account of the difficulties with Mehemet Ali. This route from the El Ghor to Hebron must have been almost identical with that travelled by our author, who actually fell in with a caravan bound for Gaza.

Do *none*, *no one*, *no son of man*, mean nothing but a European traveller, penetrating into those regions for the gratification of a curiosity, laudable indeed, but comparatively insignificant? And do a Christian divine and a Christian traveller talk of the literal accomplishment of a prophecy thus narrowed in its construction, and seek the death of two martyrs to science in the penalty prescribed in terms against *all* who shall pass out of this denounced land and return? We cannot but recommend to the zealous commentator an admirable paper in "The Spectator," upon this proneness in human nature to trace the events of this life to particular dispensations of Providence, and to point out the moral bonds which unite them; — with that sly humor, which constitutes the charm of so many of these papers, remarking, that, whatever untoward event happens to ourselves is a trial, but that whatever happens to another is a judgment. But Mr. Keith has not the merit of originality in this suggestion. He is the first, indeed, who has applied it to the peaceful traveller. But, more than sixteen hundred years ago, Dion Cassius,\* the historian of Trajan's expedition into the East, seems to intimate

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\* *Hist. Rom. Lib. 68. § 31.* We follow here the common opinion which identifies Petra with *Agra*. But it is of very doubtful correctness; *vide infra*, p. 239. And even the text of Dion in this place is uncertain.

some mysterious connexion of this nature. After relating the attempt of the Roman emperor upon the principal city of Edom, and his repulse, he observes, that, "not long after this, Trajan began to be sick," of the disorder which terminated his life.

But the penalty of death is not denounced against him who shall pass through Idumæa. The prophecy declares, simply, that none shall pass through it, without limitation and without penalty. But the penalty is, that "he shall be cut off from Mount Seir, who passeth out, and he who returneth." The literal terms would indicate, that the stranger shall not enter; and, if the native inhabitant went out of the country or returned, that he should be subject to the penalty of death.

There is better evidence than the memorandum of Sir Frederick Henniker, of the route pursued by Seetzen. Unfortunately, the entire journals of that enterprising traveller never reached Europe, but, in the "Monthly Correspondence" of Baron Zach, published at Gotha, some of his letters are given, which contain brief notices of his travels. Burckhardt and Laborde both say, he went round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea; but we could not find any allusion to this part of his route, though indeed, the work being in German, we were compelled to ask the aid of a friend in our investigations, and lost our patience before we attained our object.

We found, however, a letter from Seetzen to his brother, dated in the East, March 13th, 1807, in which he says, he left Jerusalem and travelled to Hebron, and from that place to a point on the south shore of the Dead Sea, and from there to the Greek convent at the foot of Mount Sinai. He was twenty days on the route, and found the country a waste, of which the mountain range of Seir formed the greater part.

We suppose this is passing through Edom, even enough to satisfy Mr. Keith. But why he or Mr. Stephens doubts whether Burckhardt passed *through* that country, we cannot conjecture. Burckhardt, after leaving Wady Mousa, took the road through the desert to Egypt, and passed through the heart of this region, even according to the map of Mr. Stephens. Some new boundary must be sought for Edom, before this route can be excluded from it; a boundary unknown by any geographer, ancient or modern; and, unless *passing through* means travelling north, as Mr. Stephens went, instead of west as Burckhardt went, our countryman is no more en-

titled to the claim of passing through Edom than his lamented predecessor in the East.

Besides Seetzen and Burckhardt, Captain Callier, of the French army, travelled in the East, under the orders of his government, in 1834 and 1835, and went from Hebron to Akaba, also through the heart of Edom. It is to be regretted, that he has not given the world the result of his labors. He was eminently qualified for the task, and has returned rich in literary treasures. He found traces of the route described in the Theodosian or Pentanger table, and passed the site of Eleusa, where large remains yet exist to mark the ancient importance of the city, and of Oboda, now called *Abdê* by the Arabs.

Besides these travellers, others, as we shall have cause to mention hereafter, have recently penetrated Edom in various directions ; Mr. Banks and his party, Messrs. Strangeways and Anson, and MM. Laborde and Linant. We say nothing of the travellers and pilgrims of the Middle Ages. Some of these are enumerated by M. Laborde. But it is worthy of remark, that the French crusaders took possession of Kerek, and extended their conquests through Edom to the Red Sea.

This summary is due to truth. It detracts nothing from the just claims of Mr. Stephens. His perseverance, his perils, his enterprise, and his courage, remain to him, and one of the most interesting books of travels of modern times remains to his readers ; one, indeed, of which we are proud as Americans.

Still less does a rational exposition of the oracles of God detract from their authenticity. Edom is desolate, its immense commerce has sought other channels of communication, its cities have become ruins, its population has dwindled to a few miserable, wandering Arabs, and its bright and green spots have been covered by the sands of the deserts. We cannot question the truth of its ancient condition, nor that the "spicy forests of Idumæa" were renowned through the East. And, from the process now going on at Beyroot, it is not difficult to see how natural causes have conspired to give effect to Scripture denunciations, to make the heritage of Edom desolate. Every year the sand, blown by the wind, advances towards the town, and embraces spot after spot, and tree after tree, in its death-grasp. Its progress exhibits, upon a small scale, what Arabia Petræa has witnessed upon a large one. We have learned from Captain Callier, that



there is the most incontestable evidence, that the southern winds from the Red Sea have, during a succession of ages, been loaded with sand, which has been deposited over the whole region, choaking the streams, and converting the fertile spots into dreary wastes, till "*Edom has become desolate from Teman.*"

Mr. Stephens thus describes the country after leaving Akaba.

"Standing near the shore of the northern extremity of the Red Sea, I saw before me an immense sandy valley, which, without the aid of geological science, to the eye of common observation and reason, had once been the bottom of a sea, or the bed of a river. This dreary valley, extending far beyond the reach of the eye, had been partly explored by Burckhardt, sufficiently to ascertain and mention it, in the latest geography, as the great valley of El Ghor, extending from the shore of the Elanitic Gulf, to the southern extremity of the Lake Asphaltites or the Dead Sea; and it was manifested, by landmarks of Nature's own providing, that, over that sandy plain, these seas had once mingled their waters, or perhaps more probably, that before the cities of the plain had been consumed by brimstone and fire, and Sodom and Gomorrah covered by a pestilential lake, the Jordan had here rolled its waters. The valley varied from four to eight miles in breadth, and on each side were high, dark, and barren mountains bounding it like a wall. On the left were the mountains of Judea, and on the right those of Seir, the portion given to Esau as an inheritance; and among them, buried from the eyes of strangers, the approach to it known only to the wandering Bedouins, was the ancient capital of his kingdom, the excavated city of Petra, the cursed and blighted Edom of the Edomites. The sands of Idumæa lay before me, in barrenness and desolation, no trees grew in the valley, and no verdure on the mountain tops. All was bare, dreary, and desolate."

The geological conformation of this chain of mountains, with the intervening valley, is certainly extraordinary. Commencing upon the Mediterranean, it penetrates Syria, forming the chains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, having in their bosom the valley of Cælo-Syria, and the superb monuments of Baalbec. It is divided by the Jordan and the Dead Sea, forming on one side the hill country of Judea, and the mountains of Moab on the other; and to the south, the ridge of Arabia Petræa. But the great valley is not shut in upon the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, as might be naturally supposed from the configuration of the country. It extends

to the Red Sea, and thus forms a deep and clearly-defined valley, from four to eight miles in width, from the northern side of the Lake of Tiberias, to the Arabian Gulf at Akaba, supposed to be the ancient Elath, Elana, or Ezion-geber. Burckhardt first explored that part called *El Ghor*, or *Wady Araba*, and he advanced the opinion, that it had formerly been the bed of the Jordan ; an hypothesis very naturally deduced from the geographical and geological features of the region, and apparently in coincidence with the Scripture account of that miraculous change, which took place in the valley of the Jordan, when the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed. Subsequent travellers have drawn the same conclusion, and we have seen that our author advances similar views.

But it is now known, that the Jordan could never have rolled its waters over this valley, and that the previous opinion upon this subject has been hastily formed, from superficial observations, without resorting to those decisive proofs, which have recently given a different aspect to the question. It is stated, in the "*Allgemeine Zeitung*," of March 24th, 1838, that Professor Schubert had found the level of the Dead Sea to be five hundred and ninety-eight feet below the level of the Mediterranean, which was itself found to be thirty feet and fourteen inches lower than the Red Sea, by the scientific commission, charged, during the French invasion of Egypt, with the survey of the route of the ancient canal of the Ptolemies, from Suez to the Nile.

We understood, when in Jerusalem, that an effort had been made, by a Mr. Moore and his party, to obtain permission to transport a boat from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea. The sanction of the Pasha had been obtained ; but the enterprising travellers had been prevented, by some of the usual vexations of subordinate tyrants in the East, from the full accomplishment of their purpose. Mr. Moore, however, nothing discouraged, had gone again to Alexandria, to invoke the interposition of Mehemet Ali. We now learn, however, from the abovementioned journal, that the party was composed of two brothers Moore, and of Mr. Bake ; that they transported a boat, by the way of Jerusalem, to the Dead Sea, near Jericho ; and that they set sail on the 29th of March, and explored the Sea, in all directions, till the 17th of April, when they returned to Jerusalem. While upon the Dead Sea, they took soundings through

a great part of its extent, and made a sketch of a considerable portion of its shores. With respect to the level of the Sea, the result of their investigation agreed, very nearly, with the conclusion of Professor Schubert. They state it to be at least five hundred English feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Jerusalem, according to their calculation, is about two thousand five hundred feet above the level of the Sea, and the mountains of Moab are probably about as high, if not a little higher. The greatest depth of the Dead Sea was found to be rather more than four hundred fathoms.

The eye is not an accurate instrument, to estimate the relative height of mountain chains, even when surveying one from the top of another. The Mount of Olives, however, which overlooks Jerusalem, is on the very height of land of the western ridge, the hill country of Judea; and the eastern chain of the mountains of Moab is on the opposite side of the deep gulf, which encloses the Lake Tiberias, Lake Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea, and the Jordan. In examining the mountains of Moab from the Mount of Olives, it appeared to us, that the two ridges were about equally high; and we were struck, as we presume all travellers have been, who have ascended that interesting hill, by a singular optical deception. Distances appeared annihilated, and the opposite bare and rocky rampart, from whose top the patriarch of Israel had surveyed the land of promise, across the deep valley, and the mysterious sea, stretched beneath him, and that valley and that sea, — so interesting to the Christian, from the living evidence they offer us, even in their desolation, of the truth of the Scripture record, and to the geological inquirer, from their extraordinary formation, — appeared to be almost within our reach. Even the mirage of the desert, was not more wonderful to us than this delusion, sporting with our senses, while our reason told us, that many a tedious mile intervened between us, and the objects before and below us.

The natural history of the world furnishes another fact of the similar depression of an inland sea beneath the level of the ocean. It is some years since a traveller was led by imperfect observations to suggest, that the Caspian was lower than the Black Sea. The conjecture was advanced with much doubt, and, even when confirmed by subsequent observation, the result was often attributed to an error in the process, rather than to the relative situation of the two seas. Recently, however, the question has been definitively settled by a

commission sent by the Russian government to explore the Black Sea and the Caspian ; and it is now known, that the latter is depressed below the level of the former.

Information, lately received from Palestine, confirms the deductions of Professor Schuberl, and of the Messrs. Moore and Mr. Bake, respecting the relative height of the Red Sea and the Dead Sea. The Count de Berton is now in the East, and has been travelling in Arabia Petræa, sent out by the Geographical Society of Paris, to explore those regions, and especially to examine the natural features of the Valley of El Ghor, and to ascertain, if possible, whether the Jordan ever found its way through it to the Red Sea. A letter has recently been received from him, dated at Jerusalem, April 29th, 1838, which was published in the July number of the "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie." He had just returned from Arabia Petræa, and wrote in haste, in order to secure a passage for his letter in the steamboat from Beyroot. He had followed the El Ghor, from the Dead Sea to Akaba. He had visited Wady Mousa, and found a cross, thus formed †, at the commencement and at the end of an inscription, and suggests that possibly the Crusader, Renard de Chatillon, stopped there towards 1182, during some of the excursions he made from the Castle of Harek to the Red Sea. M. de Berton made different experiments upon the ebullition of water, from which he ascertained, that the Dead Sea was much depressed below the Red Sea. And, although the process he adopted is not compatible with strict accuracy, still the result leaves no doubt of the superior elevation of the waters of the ocean over the Dead Sea, and demonstrates, that the Jordan has never had its *embouchure* in the Red Sea. He found also, that there is a sensible elevation in the Valley. It rises from the Dead Sea almost as far as Wady Mousa, and the height of land is called *El Sathe* [*the roof*] by the Arabs. To the north of this division, the waters run towards the Dead Sea, and to the south, towards Akaba. On an attentive examination of that portion of the Scriptures, which relates the destruction of the cities of the Pentapolis, he contends, there is no warrant for the opinion, that the Bible furnishes any proof, that the Jordan ever flowed into the Red Sea ; but that the contrary conclusion may be naturally deduced from the accounts given by the sacred historian. He supposes that a lake always existed in the vale

of Siddim, which was a reservoir, formed and maintained by the Jordan ; but that, before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the water was fresh, and the country upon its margin, beautiful and fertile. He contends, that, when we remark the minuteness, with which every thing connected with this subject is described, it is not credible, that so important an event as the formation of a lake, and the interruption of the course of a river, would have been overlooked. He thinks there is sufficient evidence in the description of the valley, before the change, that the waters of the Jordan did not reach the Red Sea. The English version thus speaks of the plain of the Jordan, " And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar." The French version is much clearer. " Et Lot élevant ses yeux, vit toute la plaine du Jourdain, qui avant que l'Eternel eut détruit Sodom et Gomorrhe, étoit arrosée partout, jusqu'à ce qu'on vienne à Tsoar, comme le jardin de l'Eternel, et comme le pays d'Egypte ;" which may be thus rendered, " And Lot, raising his eyes, saw all the plain of the Jordan, which, before the Lord had destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, was watered everywhere, until we come to Tsoar, like the garden of the Lord, and like the land of Egypt."

M. de Berton discovered what he supposed were the ruins of Tsoar, or Zoar. He says, that the discovery caused him a great pleasure, but that, fearing to yield to an illusion, he examined very carefully the environs, to see if any ruins of the city existed there, and that he soon discovered evident proofs of the fact, in the cisterns, hollowed from the rocks ; and this his opinion was strengthened by finding an abundant spring of water. If, he continues, the name of Zoara, which is preserved by the Arabs, were not sufficient proof of the identity of this place, other proofs might be found in the nineteenth chapter of Genesis. When Lot quitted Sodom to repair to Zoar, his wife looked behind, and was changed into a pillar of salt. The mountains, formed of enormous blocks of salt, are west of this place, and there is reason to suppose, that Lot and his family were, at that moment, near those mountains ; for he had reached Zoar, and, fearing to stay there, he took refuge in a cave. M. de Berton does not

state the exact position of the site, which he supposes to have been that of Zoar ; but, from his narrative, it seems to have been very near the Dead Sea. We have already explained why his letter was so hastily written, and this circumstance has, no doubt, deprived us of many interesting particulars. From the attention recently awakened to the topography of this region, we may soon anticipate a satisfactory description of its peculiar features.

Zoar, called by the Hebrews צֶזַר [Tzoar], is said by Eusebius to have been at the south end of the Dead Sea, as Jericho was at the north. And the description in the tenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Genesis shows, that the country was well watered to Zoar. It is extremely probable, therefore, that a fresh water lake extended to that place. M. de Berton states, that the mountains of salt were worn by the rain water, and that this dissolves the salt, and bears it to the Dead Sea, which thus preserves its excessive bitterness, destructive of all animal life. There is reason to suppose, that the streams had another direction before the convulsion which changed the face of the valley.

But we must return to Mr. Stephens, who is now approaching a lost city, shut up in a narrow valley, and which is certainly one of the most singular remains of ancient art, that have survived the lapse of time. All the travellers, who have visited it, have been deeply impressed with its peculiar character. Solidity is its great feature, for it was hewn out of the rock ; but to this were joined great taste and skill in its plans and construction, evincing a high degree of opulence and an advanced state of the arts. The sketches taken by M. Laborde distinctly show, that the written descriptions are not too highly wrought, exhibiting some of the most interesting remains that we owe to human power and ingenuity.

“In a few words,” says Mr. Stephens, “this ancient and extraordinary city is situated within a natural amphitheatre of two or three miles in circumference, and compassed on all sides by rugged mountains, five or six hundred feet in height. The whole of this area is now a waste of ruins, dwelling-houses, palaces, temples, and triumphal arches, all prostrated together, in undistinguishable ruin. The sides of the mountains are cut smooth in a perpendicular direction, and filled with long, continued ranges of dwelling-houses, temples, and

tombs, excavated with vast labor out of the solid rock ; and while their summits present Nature in her wildest and most savage form, their bases are adorned with all the beauty of architecture and art, with columns, and porticos, and pediments, and ranges of corridors, enduring as the mountain out of which they are hewn ; and fresh, as if the work of a generation scarcely yet gone by."

"What a people," says M. Laborde, "must they have been, who thus opened the mountain to stamp upon it the seal of their energy and genius ? What a climate too, which gilds with its light the graceful forms of a great variety of sculptures, without suffering its winters to crumble their sharp edges, or to reduce in the least their high relief. Silence reigns all around, save when the solitary owl now and then utters his plaintive cry. The Arab passes through the scene, with perfect indifference, scarcely deigning to look at works, executed with so much ability, or to meditate, except with contempt, upon the uselessness of so much labor, expended on an object, which he in vain seeks to comprehend.

"It is impossible, however, by any sketches, to convey to the mind of a person, who has not visited Petra, a just impression of the magical effect produced upon the eye, by the harmonious tints of the stone of which the Krasni is composed, standing out as it does, in a limpid, rosy hue, detached from the rough and sombre color of the mountain. Who can represent those grand outlines, here and there abruptly broken by the jagged forms of the rocks, or renew those traces of ancient splendor, that characterize this fine picture, placed in the great avenue to the city, in order that it might be seen by the whole community, in contrast with the solitude of the ravine, which seems well calculated to heighten its grandeur."

But what wonderful city is this, lost and found, hewn out of the rock, exhibiting such evidence of human power and opulence, in the midst of a frightful desert ; of whose progress and fate history has left either no memorial, or none bearing any just proportion to its former magnificence ? This question is more easily asked than answered.

The knowledge of a rumor, that there existed another Palmyra in the deserts of Arabia Petræa, we owe to Volney, but Burckhardt was the first who, in 1812, visited these ruins. He was followed, in 1818, by a party composed of Messrs. Banks, Legh, Irby, and Mangles ; by Strangeways and Anson, we believe in 1826 ; by Laborde and Linant in 1828 ; by Mr. Stephens in 1836 ; and still later by various other travel-

lers, and among others, two of our countrymen, Messrs. Robinson and Smith. Burckhardt first suggested the probability, that these ruins were the remains of Petra, and his editor, Colonel Leake, adopted the same opinion, and developed it more fully by an examination of some of the references in history to Petra, and by endeavouring to prove their application to this place. Later writers have expressed the same views, but have done little more than repeat the remarks of Colonel Leake. This conclusion may be just, and has formerly been adopted as such in this journal ; \* but, as there are yet some doubts upon the subject, we propose to review the question, and to ascertain on what foundation it rests. We are well aware of the difficulty of identifying the sites of ancient places, where history or tradition has not uniformly kept them in view. Accurate local description and investigation were not the peculiar characteristics of the ancient historians and geographers ; and an approximation towards the truth is, too often, all we have to expect from the most laborious research.

Petra is from a Greek word, signifying a *rock*, and was applied to many of the towers and strongholds situated upon rocky hills. One in Colchis, upon a "craggy rock," is memorable for its siege and capture in the reign of Justinian. The commentator upon Eusebius and Jerome, the monk Bonfrerius, enumerates five Petras, mentioned in Scripture, viz. the principal Petra, Petra Dividens, Petra Etam, Petra Horeb, and Petra Rimmon.

The principal Petra has, however, till the discovery of the ruins of Wady Mousa, been supposed to be identical with the present Kerek, a name, Burckhardt says, common in Syria. It is situated some distance east of the southern part of the Dead Sea. It is the see of a Greek bishop, whose diocese is called *Petra* in Greek, and *Battrra* in Arabic ; and Burckhardt states, that the town of Kerek is considered by the clergy at Jerusalem as the ancient Petra. Reland, in his "Palæstina,"† after a laborious investigation, fixes the site of Petra where Kerek now is, and in this he was followed by the learned and accurate D'Anville.‡ There is reason to believe, that there has been a succession of Greek bishops,

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\* *North American Review*, Vol. XLIV. p. 417 *et seq.*

† Page 926.

‡ Vol. II. p. 425.



from an early age of the church, down to the present day, with their episcopal see at Petra. There was a bishop of Petra at the Council of Seleucis, in A. D. 359, and another at the Council of Jerusalem, in A. D. 536.

And what reasons are offered for transferring this name, with its historical associations, from Kerek to the resuscitated city in the Wady Mousa? Colonel Leake briefly states them, and we propose to follow him in his investigation.

We must remark, however, a looseness of quotation and observation, which is to be regretted in such a doubtful inquiry. Colonel Leake commences his examination, by observing, that the country of the Nabatæi, of which Petra was the capital, is well characterized by Diodorus Siculus, as “containing some fertile spots, but as being, for the greater part, desert and waterless. With equal accuracy,” &c. We really see no peculiarly accurate characteristic in this description. It seems to us equally applicable to every part of Arabia, and we may almost add of Africa, where oases are to be found.

Colonel Leake continues ;

“With equal accuracy the combined information of Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny, describe Petra as falling in a line drawn from the head of the Arabian Gulf (Suez) to Babylon,—as being at the distance of three or four days from Jericho, and four or five from Phœnicœon on the Nabathean coast, near the entrance of the Elanitic Gulf, — and as situate in a valley, of about two miles in length, enclosed with a precipice, and watered by a river.”

To arrive at the truth, it is necessary to separate what Colonel Leake has here combined, and to restore to Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny, what belongs to each.

The line to which allusion is here made, is to be found in Strabo (Lib. xvi.) ; but it is described not by that geographer, but by Eratosthenes, upon whose work he wrote commentaries. As we read the passage, the meaning is entirely different from that given by Colonel Leake.

“From Heroopolis, near the Nile, at the bottom of the Arabic Gulf, to Babylon, going by Petra of the Nabathæans, the distance is five thousand six hundred stadia.” The original is, Ἀπὸ Ἡρώων πόλεως ἥ τις ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ Νείλῳ μυχὸς τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, πρὸς μὲν τὴν Ναβαταίαν Πέτραν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, πεντακισχίλιοι ἑξακόσιοι. Or, to put this expression in a more famil-

iar form, "From Boston to New York, going by Albany, the distance is three hundred miles." This certainly does not justify the conclusion, drawn by Colonel Leake, that Petra was on a right line between those places, but distinctly intimates it was not. The question indeed is of little importance. We only wonder, that the learned annotator resorted to this dictum, as a proof of the true position of Petra. This line of Eratosthenes was described between the two hundredth, and the two hundred and fiftieth year before Christ, and certainly within a century after the expedition of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, into Arabia Petræa, at which time, according to Diodorus Siculus, Lake Asphaltites was discovered, or in other words made known to the Greeks. Is it credible, in the imperfect state of geographical knowledge at the era of Eratosthenes, that data existed by which the points falling upon a direct line from the Red Sea to the Euphrates, embracing in its course fifteen degrees of latitude, could be precisely ascertained? a line, which presupposes a highly advanced state of astronomical knowledge, and which requires, that the places ascertained to be upon it, should have had their latitude and longitude determined with scrupulous accuracy. He would be a bold geographer, who, at this day, would venture to assert, that Wady Mousa was upon this line. It certainly is not, if the best maps are to be trusted.

The next proof is derived from the distance between Petra and Phœnicon on the one side, and Jericho on the other. This is furnished by Strabo, who says, in the same book, "From this city (Petra) they calculate by the shortest route three or four days to Jericho, and five (not four or five, as Colonel Leake has it) to Phœnicon."

Reland remarks, in establishing the site of Petra, that Jericho is nearly six hundred stadia from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea; and that, according to Procopius Cæsariensis, a day's journey was two hundred and ten stadia, which would give the distance from Jericho to Petra, six hundred and thirty, or eight hundred and forty stadia. And it is a fact, that this very passage of Strabo, which is assumed by the English geographer as a proof that Petra is identical with Wady Mousa, is one of the elements employed by Reland to prove that Petra is Kerek. But surely so loose an estimate, which, in so short a distance, may give two hundred stadia, more or less, is entitled to little weight in adjusting the

rival claims of these two places. Phœnicon, Colonel Leake considers as Moyeleh, at the entrance of the eastern branch of the Red Sea ; and between that place and Jericho there must be four degrees of latitude, and one of longitude, upon Burckhardt's map, and probably little less than three hundred miles in a direct line. How much more, by the nearest practicable route, we have not the means of ascertaining. Now it is certain, that no measure of time, deduced from their rate of travelling, and applied to the computation of distance in use among the ancients, would give a result equal probably to thirty-five English miles a day. "Three or four days" is a loose expression ; and there has been perhaps some corruption of the text, as we know there must have been in Pliny, when he states the distance from Petra to Gaza upon the Mediterranean, "*litoris nostri*," and to the Persian Gulf. He calls it six hundred miles, "*DC mill.*" from Petra to the former, and one hundred and thirty-five miles, "*CXXXV mill.*" from Petra to the latter.\* A passing glance at the map will show, that the distance from Kerek or Wady Mousa to the nearest part of the Persian Gulf, is more than four times as great as from either of these places to Gaza. And yet this estimate of Pliny has been quoted by Colonel Leake, and after him in the English edition of Laborde,† as one of the proofs of the true position of Petra, without any reference to this gross error.

Both Pliny and Strabo describe Petra. The former (Lib. vi. c. 28.) says, "*Nabatæi oppidum includunt Petram nomine, in convalle paulo minus II mill. pass. [not two miles, as Colonel Leake has it] amplitudinis, circumdatum montibus inaccessis, amne interfluente.*" We quote the original for greater accuracy. Pliny says nothing of its being surrounded by deserts.

Strabo (Lib. xvi.) describes Petra, but does not mention any valley. He says, it is situated on a level spot, (called by the French translator *plateau*, equivalent to our term *tableland*, and implying a high level spot,) and is defended round by rocks, and partly without by steep precipices, but having within abundant fountains for the purposes of irrigation and the cultivation of gardens. He considers it as encircled by a wall ; for he says, "Outside of the walls the region is a desert,

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\* Lib. VI. c. 28.

† Page 16.

especially towards Judea," — "Ἐξω δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου χώρα ἔρημος ἢ πλείστη, καὶ μάλιστα ἢ πρὸς Ἰουδαίαν. This is wholly inconsistent with the peculiar position of Wady Mousa. Mr. Stephens says, the valley of Wady Mousa is two or three miles in circumference, giving at most but one mile in diameter. But it is evident, from the plan of M. Laborde, that this estimate is too large, and the diameter cannot exceed two thousand feet. This space is all filled with ruins, and the sides of the mountain were wrought into buildings, public and private. Laborde further says, that the great importance of this position, as a place of safety, was, that "it was hemmed in by a girdle of rocks, to which there was no ingress, except through a ravine so narrow, that a few men, stationed on the top of the mountain, might prevent any enemy, however numerous, from effecting an entrance into the town." It is obvious, from this description, that this valley could never have been surrounded by a wall, and that such a fortification would have been perfectly useless. Our reader may compare this description of Strabo with that given by Burckhardt of Kerek, and he cannot but be struck with the resemblance. "It is built upon the top of a steep hill, surrounded on all sides by a deep valley; the mountains beyond which command the town. In the valley, on the northwest are several copious springs," &c. Strabo, no doubt, received his description from "our friend Athenodorus, a philosopher," who had visited that region, and who was much "surprised to find so many Romans and other foreigners in the country."

Pliny may have been ignorant of the precise relative situation of the hill and valley, and may have considered these as indicated by the very name *Petra*. His description is not inconsistent with this supposition. Colonel Leake, indeed, suggests, that, "to Wady Mousa, though of a different aspect from Kerek, the name *Petra* was equally well adapted." We confess our incapacity to discover this adaptation. Kerek is on the top of a high hill, and Wady Mousa in a deep valley. The resemblance sought must be found by much such a process, as that by which Fluellen proved, that "in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, the situation, look ye, is both alike." There is not indeed a river at Wady Mousa, but there is a spring, and there is a spring also at Kerek.

The word *Petra*, as we have already stated, is derived

from *πετρα*, a rock, and was applied we believe without exception to a rocky elevation ; and we imagine all the sites to which this name was given, were strongholds, thus elevated, and easily defended. "The name of this capital," says Dr. Vincent, "in all the various languages in which it occurs, implies a rock, and as such it is described in Pliny and Al Earissi." And the Scripture denunciations against Edom indicate the same natural feature, "I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate. The pride of thy heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high."

Colonel Leake remarks, that the latitude  $30^{\circ} 20'$ , assigned by Ptolemy to Petra, agrees very accurately with the result of the geographical information of Mr. Burckhardt. What this information was, we have no means of ascertaining. We presume, however, it means the estimated courses and distances, pursued by the enterprising traveller, from which his map must have been constructed, probably with the assistance of his able editor. For it is certain, that Mr. Burckhardt had neither the opportunity nor the instruments to make celestial observations. His journey was too rapid and perilous for that ; and he, whose clothes could not escape the rapacity of the Arabs, would have sought in vain to transport with him delicate astronomical machinery. The miserable regions, through which he passed, were inhabited by no one, who could give him this "information" ; and it requires but little practical knowledge to be convinced how unsatisfactory must be the conclusions, when the elements of calculation are so vague. The assumed latitude, therefore, must be considered an approximation merely ; and that it is not a very close one, may be conjectured from the map in the English edition of Laborde, in which the latitude is laid down at about  $30^{\circ} 50'$ , at least half a degree north of that assigned by Ptolemy. Unfortunately we do not find any calculations of latitude or longitude in M. Laborde's work, though, from the scientific instruments taken and the time spent at Wady Mousa, there can be no doubt, but that this important duty was not neglected, and that from the results, thus obtained, the map was prepared.

But after all, were the latitude of Wady Mousa correctly given by Ptolemy, we should consider that circumstance an accidental coincidence, rather than a proof to be employed

upon this question. The ancient observations were notoriously inaccurate, and necessarily so, from the state of astronomical knowledge, and from the process adopted in the determination of positions upon the earth's surface. It is probable, that Ptolemy deduced the latitude of Petra, and of the other places enumerated by him in this region, from the length of the longest day, for this fact is carefully stated in each case. Petra, he says, has for the longest day fourteen hours,\* and is distant from Alexandria towards the east, one third of an hour and a tenth. The version of the Amsterdam edition of 1605 (page 205) has it, "*horæ  $\frac{1}{3}$  et decimâ parte.*" But, whether the latitude was deduced from the gnomon, or from the length of the day, it is obvious, that the result is too uncertain to settle a question, whose solution, so far as it depends upon the true geographical position of Kerek or Wady Mousa, requires very accurate observations. The uncertainty of these calculations of Ptolemy is apparent when we remark, that he assigns fourteen hours and one eighth as the longest day to Bosra, the Roman capital of Palestine Tertia, and  $31^{\circ} 30'$  as its latitude. But Bosra, upon Burckhardt's map, is in latitude (about)  $32^{\circ} 40'$ , and is nearly a degree and a half north of Kerek, which is about a degree north of Wady Mousa. Ptolemy also states the longitude of Petra at  $66^{\circ} 45'$ , (thus expressed,  $66.\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ ), and that of Bosra at  $69^{\circ} 45'$ , ( $69.\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ ), calculated, we suppose, from the meridian of the Fortunate Islands; making three degrees between Petra and Bosra. Burckhardt's map gives somewhat more than one. But if, indeed, it is assumed, that Ptolemy gives the true latitude of Bosra, and that the distance he makes between those places, upon a great circle, is correct, nearly  $1^{\circ} 10'$ , then it will be found, that this distance would place Petra very near Kerek. But there is obviously too much uncertainty in these estimates to justify their employment as the basis of any rational historical and geographical deduction.

Colonel Leake deduces another argument, in favor of the identity of Petra and Wady Mousa, from the "vestiges of opulence and the apparent date of the architecture, which are equally conformable with the remains of the history of Petra,

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\* This element gives a latitude of  $30^{\circ} 48' 20''$ , which corresponds at least as well with Kerek as with Wady Mousa, according to our best knowledge of the latitudes of those places. Ptolemy's two statements, if supposed to be exact, are irreconcilable.

found in Strabo, from whom it appears, that, previous to the reign of Augustus, or under the latter Ptolemies, a very large portion of the commerce of Arabia and India passed through Petra to the Mediterranean, and that armies of camels were required to convey the merchandise, from Leuce Come, on the Red Sea, through Petra to Rhinoculura, now El Arish."

"When the effects of commerce required a situation better suited than Kerek to the collected population and increased opulence of the Nabatæi, the appellation of Petra was transferred to the new city of Wady Mousa, which place had before been known to the Greeks by the name of *Arce* (*Ἀρχή*), a corruption, perhaps, of the Hebrew *Rekem*. To Wady Mousa, although of a different aspect from Kerek, the name Petra was equally well adapted; and Kerek became distinguished among the Greeks by its indigenous name, in the Greek form of *Charax*, to which the Romans added that of *Omanorum* or *Kerek of Ammon*, to distinguish it from another Kerek, now called *Kerek el Shobah*. The former Kerek was afterwards restored by the Christians to the Jewish division of Moab, to which, being south of the river Arnon, it strictly belonged, and it was then called in Greek *Charagmoka*, under which name we find it mentioned as one of the cities and episcopal dioceses of Palestine. When the stream of commerce, which had enriched the Nabatæi, had partly reverted to its old Egyptian channel, and had partly taken the new course, which erected a Palmyra in the midst of a country still more destitute of the commonest gifts of nature than Arabia Petræa, Wady Mousa was gradually depopulated."

And the writer goes on to state, that Kerek again became the capital.

This is the history of Petra Mousa, as related by Colonel Leake, and adopted by all the travellers who have followed Burckhardt. And yet it is one of the most extraordinary historical narratives on record. Scattered facts have been collected from the ancient writers and brought together, and the deficiency has been supplied by deductions, without any discrimination between the authentic and the conjectural portions of the picture. And, still more, it has been assumed, that there were two commercial Petras, and then the narrative has been broken and transferred from one to the other, at pleasure. *Not the slightest intimation has been given by any ancient author, that there were two commercial Petras*. Kerek, till the discovery of the ruins of Wady Mousa, was universally supposed to have been Petra. Colonel Leake

assumed, that that city was in the valley first explored by Burckhardt, and then applied himself to discover its history. If there were but one Petra, then the partition of facts, made by Colonel Leake between them, is without foundation ; and if there were two, no mortal tongue can tell, which of the few occurrences, related by the ancient authors, belonged to one, and which to the other.

The first part of the preceding quotation, relating to the trade of Petra, affords a proof of the amplification in which this subject has been fertile. We will give every word, that Strabo says upon the subject, to which reference is here made. He is treating of the circumstances and result of the expedition of Ælius Gallus, sent by Augustus to subdue Arabia Petræa; which expedition failed, through the treachery of a Nabatæan general, named Syllæus, who had joined the invading army with five thousand men. This general had persuaded the Roman leader to construct a fleet at Suez, in order to reach Leuce Come by sea, assuring him he could not march by land. He followed this advice, and many of his vessels, with a portion of his troops and baggage, were lost ; whereas, the historian supposes, this disaster might have been avoided, had he taken the land route, which in fact existed ; “ the commercial caravans,” says Strabo, “ going with all safety from Leuce Come to Petra, and from Petra to Leuce Come, in troops so numerous, that they do not differ from armies.” On this little incidental paragraph is founded all that Colonel Leake gives of the history of Petra from Strabo.

It is not easy to reconcile any site assigned to Petra, with our present knowledge of the commercial routes, intersecting Arabia Petræa during the period of its opulence. Our information upon that subject is unsatisfactory ; but we know, that an interchange of the various productions of the East and West was early maintained, and both sacred and profane history have many allusions to it. The general purposes and course of this commerce are sufficiently obvious, and they have been elucidated by modern writers (and particularly by Heeren), who, after comparing the ancient authorities, have set themselves to investigate the questions connected with the sites of Ophir and Tarshish, and with many other points involved in this complicated subject. One important fact must be kept in view, that the ancients were not expert mariners, and that they dreaded, while they magnified, the perils of the ocean. “ The longest route by land, and the shortest



route by sea," seems to have formed their axiom of transportation. Caravans of camels, from the various ports upon the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to the coasts of the Mediterranean, crossed the intervening territory of Arabia Petræa, which was then enriched by a profitable traffic. But it is vain to seek, at this time, the history of the tides of this commerce, the fluctuations it underwent, and the causes of its successive abandonment of established routes, and the substitution of others. Nor can we determine, why it was directed upon certain points, distant from a direct line, between the terminating *dépôts*. We have already seen, that there was an established road from Suez to Leuce Come, by the way of Petra. The exact position, indeed, of Leuce Come is unknown, but it was no doubt a port on the eastern branch of the Red Sea. A slight inspection of the map will show that Petra, whether the historian intended to describe Kerek or Wady Mousa, is far from a direct communication from Suez to the Elanitic Gulf. And the same difficulty occurs concerning the transportation of products from Elana or Leuce Come to Rhinoculura, otherwise El Arish. These points are respectively upon the Red Sea and upon the Mediterranean, and are very little further from each other than Petra is from Rhinoculura. Why this long *détour* was made, we have no means of determining. We should be almost tempted to deprive both Wady Mousa and Kerek of the name of Petra, and to place that commercial metropolis to the northwest instead of the northeast of Akaba.

But the difficulty is more obvious when we reflect, that there was a direct communication, according to Pliny, between Petra and Palmyra, and another between Petra and Damascus, by which last the intercourse was, probably, at one time maintained with Tyre and Sidon. If Wady Mousa is nearer a direct line between the head of the Elanitic Gulf, and the southern coast of the Mediterranean, Kerek has a similar advantage in relation to the eastern route. Colonel Leake supposes, that Kerek was the first *dépôt* of this trade, but that Wady Mousa was afterwards selected for this purpose, because "it was better suited to its collected population and increased opulence." Here both fact and reason are assumed, for history gives not the slightest indication of such a change. In what this superiority consisted, Colonel Leake does not state, and it would be difficult to conjecture. Not in its greater capacity to supply the agricultural products

required by such a trade ; for he says, “ Wady Mousa was situated in a less fertile country than Kerek.” Not in its greater security ; for we learn upon the same authority, that the latter was more easily defensible than the former. Not in its facility of access ; for it would be difficult to select a site more inconvenient than Wady Mousa for a commerce requiring armies of camels. Situated several miles from the direct route, which must have been necessarily left in the rear, attainable only by a long, narrow, precipitous path, occupying a deep, circumscribed valley, and surrounded by a region incapable of furnishing the necessary provisions, it presented precisely those features which *armies of camels* should avoid.

It is amusing to remark, by what slight indications Colonel Leake establishes his historical theory. Our readers have observed, that his narrative attributes the decline of Petra to the successful competition of Palmyra, and gravely states the circumstances. And upon what recorded facts is this part of the history founded ? Why, upon a comparison of the architecture at Wady Mousa and at Tadmor, from which it results that Palmyra flourished at a later period than Petra. *Voilà tout !* It must have required an acute judgment to weigh the architectural merits of those cities of the desert, at the time Colonel Leake wrote, when no modern traveller but Burckhardt had visited Wady Mousa, nor did he, as far as we can discover, make any drawing of these ruins. Later travellers have shown, that they contain a mixture of the Grecian and Roman styles. Petra was subdued in the reign of Trajan, at the commencement of the second century after Christ. Assuming that this was at Wady Mousa, the Roman portion at least of the architecture must have been created after that time. Its period of opulence had not then passed away.

This is also the period assigned by Gibbon for the construction of the immense fabrics, whose ruins yet exist to attest the site and power of Palmyra.

“ Palmyra, insensibly increased into an opulent and independent city ; and, connecting the Roman and Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was suffered to observe an humble neutrality, till at length, after the victories of Trajan, the little republic sunk into the bosom of Rome, and flourished more than one hundred and fifty years in the subordinate though humble rank of a colony. It was during that peaceful period, if we may judge from a few remaining inscriptions, that the wealthy Palmyrenians constructed those temples, palaces, and porticos of Grecian architecture, whose ruins,

scattered over an extent of several miles, have deserved the curiosity of our travellers." — *Decline and Fall*, &c. Vol. i. p. 345.

Architectural chronology must be a much more exact science than we have had any reason to believe, if, by a comparison of the style of architecture of two cities in Arabia, both of which flourished in the same age, and whose monuments were probably constructed in the same century, we can now ascertain, which preceded the other in time, so as to make that fact the basis of an important historical deduction. But the narrative of the revolutions of Petra seems to grow as it passes from hand to hand. Colonel Leake's abstract of its progress and fate is more sober than the picture presented by his successors. Mr. Stephens considers Wady Mousa as the *Selah* of the Scriptures, captured by Amaziah; from the earliest period, the seat of the commerce of the precious commodities of the East, the place whence "the king of Arabia" issued, and advanced to Jerusalem; M. Laborde as the place, which Pompey marched to attack, but did not reach, and where Trajan was repulsed. According to Mr. Keith it was the rock, which resisted the efforts of Demetrius, and "he who entered Babylon retreated before the capital of Edom." It seems the fashion to attribute to it all that sacred and profane history has recorded of any rock, fortress, or city of Edom.

Whether this *deep valley* of Wady Mousa was the *Selah*, bearing the Hebrew [שֶׁלַח] for *Petra*, or the *Rock*, captured by Amaziah, after the defeat of the Edomites in the Valley of Salt, or of Jericho, is mere conjecture, and should have been given as such. We must resort to a kind of *lucus a non lucendo* analogy, before we discover any adaptation in the name.

As to the "Palace of the King of Arabia," if he had one, for we find no mention of it, it was probably in his capital; and this capital, says Josephus, was formerly called *Arce*, but now *Petra*, and in it lived the King of the Arabs.

Nothing but great carelessness could have led M. Laborde to identify the rock besieged by Demetrius with Wady Mousa. It appears by Diodorus Siculus, that Antigonus sent two expeditions into Arabia Petræa. The first was under Athenodorus, who advanced to a rock, Petra, upon the top of which the Arabians had deposited their wealth and their non-combatants, and after having left a sufficient guard to defend the place, they took to the desert, in order more easily to

harass the invaders. This Petra was very strong, but unwall-ed, and there was but one way up to it, which was made by art. The place, however, was taken; but the invaders held it only three hours and then retired. Afterwards, Antigonus sent his son Demetrius into the country. He besieged the rock, Petra, but was repulsed. And this Petra, says M. Laborde, was Wady Mousa.

During Trajan's celebrated expedition into the East, he marched into Arabia Petræa. He attacked the city of Agra, which is supposed to have been Petra; why, we have not been able to discover; and we have already taxed our own patience, and that of our readers too much, to follow the vicissitudes of this lost town through any more strange, repulsive-looking tomes. But, whether the description of Trajan's attack corresponds with the natural features of Wady Mousa, let our readers judge.

The historian Dion Cassius says,\* that neither Trajan nor Severus could take the place, though they demolished a *part of the walls*, and that Trajan sent his cavalry to reconnoitre the breach, who, however, were repulsed, and hastily returned to the camp. The Roman Emperor then rode himself round the wall, though, to avoid being known, he took off his royal robe. The barbarians, however, discovered him by his bald head, and his *air, full of venerable majesty*, and endeavored to hit him with arrows, and actually killed a horseman who was about to join him.

Here was a walled city, round which the Roman Emperor rode, and which he, one of the ablest generals of antiquity, attacked with cavalry. Of all possible positions, these circumstances agree the least with the confined valley of Wady Mousa, defended by an eternal rampart of inaccessible rocks.

The names assigned to Petra by Colonel Leake, furnish no clue for the discovery of the labyrinth. Josephus, in his "Antiquities," † states the metropolis of the Arabs is a town formerly called Arce (Ἀρχεμένη, אֶרֶץ) now *Petra*. But this leaves us where it found us, to seek where we can for this city of Petra. We wonder it never occurred to Colonel Leake, in his etymological investigations, to trace the name *Kerek* to this word Ἀρχή, which he supposes a corruption of *Rekem*.

We terminate these *doubts* by observing, that, according to the Theodosian table, and to Ptolemy and Strabo, there

\* *Ubi supra*, p. 217, note.

† Book IV. chap. 4.

were many cities between Judea and the Red Sea. We enumerate from Reland the following names of places in Arabia Petræa, situated between  $65^{\circ} 45'$  and  $68^{\circ} 45'$  east longitude, and between  $29^{\circ} 55'$  and  $31^{\circ}$  north latitude, embracing a space of three degrees of longitude, and one degree fifteen minutes of latitude,—Eboda, Maliatha, Kalguia, Lysa, Gubba, Gypsaria, Petra, Characmoba, Aura, Zanatha, Zoara, Thana, Moca, Necla, Esbouta, Ziza, Maguza, Maduira, Rabmathone ;—nineteen cities in a desert, and in so narrow a space, and all lost, most of them irrevocably. Even should it be ascertained that Wady Mousa is not the commercial Petra of Idumea, here are names enough to employ the learning and ingenuity of the profoundest scholar, and among which he may perhaps ascertain the one formerly appropriated to the singular valley, and occupied by the everlasting monuments, first explored in modern days by the enterprising Burckhardt.

There is one point relating to the position of Petra, which, from its connexion with Scripture geography, we propose to examine with some attention. Colonel Leake remarks ;

“ But among the ancient authorities regarding Petra, none are more curious than those of Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome ; all persons well acquainted with these countries, and who agree in proving, that the Sepulchre of Aaron in Mount Hor was near Petra. From hence, it seems evident, that the present object of Mussulman devotion, under the name of the Tomb of Haroun, stands upon the same spot as has always been regarded as the burial-place of Aaron, and there remains little doubt, therefore, that the mountain to the East of Petra is the Mount of Hor, of the Scriptures ; perhaps an Arabic corruption of Mosara, where Aaron is said to have died.”

All the travellers who have visited Wady Mousa have ascended this mountain, except Burckhardt ; but he, with the others, considered it the Mount Hor of the Scriptures. The description, given by Mr. Stephens, is powerful ;

“ If I had never stood on the top of Mount Sinai, I should say nothing could exceed the desolation of the view from Mount Hor ; its most striking objects being the drear and rugged mountains of Seir, bare and naked of trees and verdure, and heaving their lofty summits to the skies, as if in a vain and fruitless effort to excel the mighty pile, on which the High Priest of Israel was buried. Before me was a land of barrenness and ruin, a land accursed of God, and against which the

Prophets had set their faces, the land, in which it is thus written in the book of life," &c.

But we proceed to inquire what proof of the identity between the mountain which overhangs the Valley of Mousa, and the Mount Hor of the Scriptures, is furnished by history or ancient geography. Colonel Leake invokes the testimony of Josephus, of Eusebius, and of Jerome, as persons well acquainted with the regions of Idumæa. But it should be remembered, that the fact of which they speak is purely a traditional one, and that, from the era of Aaron's death to the time of Josephus, almost as long an interval had elapsed as from the age of Josephus to our days ; and that, with respect to the two Christian fathers, the period was much greater. If we advert to the legends and traditions, which are associated with many of the events of Christianity, both in Palestine and elsewhere, and supported apparently by credible testimony, and trace their little coincidence with the Scripture accounts, we shall be inclined to be rather skeptical upon kindred subjects. But Colonel Leake is inaccurate again in his quotation. No one of these writers speaks of the Sepulchre of Aaron. They say only, that he died upon Mount Hor, near Petra. Josephus is in all hands, and the truth of our remark with respect to him may be easily verified. As Eusebius and Jerome are not so readily referred to, we quote their remarks.

Eusebius says ; "*Hor*, a mountain on which Aaron died, near the city of Petra, on which even now is shown the rock struck by Moses." \*

Jerome's words are ; "*Or*, a mountain, in which Aaron died, near the city of *Petra* ; where even at the present day is shown the rock, which being struck, Moses gave water to the people." †

This correction is worth more than at first it appears to be. The text of Colonel Leake would seem to imply, that there had always been a tomb upon Mount Hor, and that this tomb had always been regarded with veneration. Had such been the fact, the value of the tradition would have been greatly enhanced.

\* "Ὁρ, ὅρος ἐν ᾧ τιλιτυτῇ Ἀαρὼν, πλησίον Πέτρας πόλεως, ἐν ᾧ καὶ εἰς τῆς νῦν δείκνυται ἡ ἐπὶ Μωϋσέως ρύσασσα πέτρα. — *Onomasticon*.

† "*Or*, mons in quo mortuus est Aaron juxta civitatem Petram ; ubi usque ad præsentem diem ostenditur rupes, quâ percussâ Moyses aquas populo dedit."

But Eusebius and Jerome have committed an obvious error, which evinces the facility with which they received traditional accounts, and the little care they took to investigate them ; and thus impair, not the truth of the testimony, but the weight of the evidence. The tradition had increased between the time of Josephus and the age of these Christian fathers, for they add, that, upon Mount Hor, “ is shown to this day, the rock, struck by Moses.” We are not driven to explain why such a miracle was wrought in such a place, a spring opened upon a high mountain, for the supply of a moving nation, because this account is contradicted by the Scripture narrative. It was at Kadesh, or Kadesh-barnea, for it is called by both names, that the rock was struck, as is shown in the twentieth chapter of Numbers, from the first to the twelfth verse. And we are told in the twentieth verse, that “ the children of Israel, with the whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto Mount Hor.” It was the sister of Moses, Miriam (Numbers xx. 1.), who died at Kadesh, where the rock was struck, and where the gushing waters gave to the parched Jews one of the most beautiful illustrations of the power of the Almighty, and of his kindness towards them, which were furnished during their long perigrations through the wilderness.

The book of Numbers, commencing at the tenth chapter, contains a narrative of the migrations of the children of Israel, from the time they left Mount Sinai, until they reached the country upon the East bank of the Jordan ; and the first three chapters of Deuteronomy contain an abstract of their whole journey, related by Moses to the assembled people of Israel. The general facts stated in these records are the same, and, in the details, there is as little difference as could be naturally expected between accounts prepared at different times, and for different purposes ; the one being designed for an historical narrative, and the other for a succinct sketch related to a prodigious multitude, illustrative of the wonderful interpositions of Providence in their favor, and preparatory to the legacy of wisdom which their leader was about to bequeath to them. His work was finished ; he stood upon the border of the promised land ; and, though he could see it from Pisgah, it was not given to him to enter it.

This memorable journey of the children of Israel has attracted the attention of critics and commentators, from the

earliest period of the church. That there are difficulties which cannot be easily surmounted, in tracing the exact route of this great caravan, and in identifying the site of each encampment, may be easily admitted. Four thousand years have passed, since this wonderful event. Nations have risen and decayed, where the Jews travelled. The face of the country has changed, and many a fountain has been choked, and many a fertile spot been laid waste by the sands of the desert. It is only wonderful, that so much remains to attest the truth of a narrative, written forty centuries ago. The Red Sea remains ; Mount Sinai remains ; the mountains of Seir remain ; the face of the country remains, with its sands indeed increased, and its *oases* diminished, the necessary consequence of the loss of its population and agriculture, but with its general features unchanged ; and remain also, as unchanged as any of these, the character, manners, and customs of the nomadic tribes, who then, as now, roved over the country with their flocks and herds. He who seeks the truth, cannot fail to be struck with all these wonderful coincidences. And, if he meet some difficulties he cannot reconcile and explain, let him recollect, that similar difficulties meet us in all history, ancient and modern. In the short period of our own national existence, how many historical points have we which have been asserted, denied, canvassed, and yet remain *sub judice*. There are well-authenticated facts of recent date, which, if they had come to us from a remote period, would have been received as utterly apocryphal. If the early historians of Rome had told a tale like that of the Man with the Iron Mask, we should have rejected it as a fiction of the imagination. We should say, no important personage disappeared from the theatre of action, about the period of his arrest ; and the precautions used could only be credible, if applied to some one, whose personal character and influence, while it rendered him dangerous to the state, rendered it also of the last importance, that his name should be concealed ; and that, after his death, secrecy was neither necessary nor practicable. And yet this incident occurred in France, before Europe, and the riddle is yet to be read.\*

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\* We are tempted to insert an interesting anecdote, upon this subject, which leaves no doubt, but that the secret has perished ; and it enhances the difficulty, by showing in what manner the mystery was transmitted, and by



Burckhardt supposes that Kadesh, the most important intermediate station between Mount Sinai and Mount Hor, was in El Ghor, or the great valley ; but this conjecture is unsupported by a single fact. In Numbers xx. 1, Kadesh is said to be in the desert of Zin, which was west of Edom, and south of Judea. It was upon the *coast*, or border of Edom. And in Joshua, xix. 3, the line of the tribe of Judah is described as passing along Zin, and ascending upon the south side unto Kadesh-barnea, and thence to the Mediterranean. This place was, therefore, on the south side of the wilderness, and situated beyond where the line turned west, to ascend or pass along its southern border. All this is entirely irreconcilable with the position of El Ghor, which from the earliest period had been the inheritance of Esau.

M. Laborde, however, lays down the position of Kadesh more correctly. For he says,\* that, after the defeat of the Israelites by the Petrean tribes, and the refusal of the Edomites to admit them into their country, "they descended into El Ghor," &c. As this refusal occurred at Kadesh, that place must have been west of the valley.

It appears by the sacred historians, that, after having occupied the regions in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai more than a year, the great Jewish encampment was broken up by the divine command. "Ye have dwelt long enough in this

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what obligations it was preserved. It was related by the present King of the French, and we had it from the *best* authority.

The King at his first interview, after his visit to the United States, with the late Charles X., then Monsieur, and formerly Comte d'Artois, was asked by this prince, whether he knew who was the Man with the Iron Mask. The King said he did not, nor did he think it was known to his father, the Duke of Orléans, for he presumed, had it been otherwise, he should have heard the subject mentioned. Charles X. then said, "I did not know, but it might have been transmitted in your family, from the regent Duke of Orléans, who knew it, and communicated it to Louis XV. This fact," he continued, "I acquired in this manner. During the reign of Louis XVI., I one day suddenly entered his apartments, and found the Queen, Marie Antoinette, strongly urging the King to disclose to her the name of that singular state prisoner. The King told her it was impossible, for he was under a solemn obligation to reveal it only to his successor, and that it had come to him from Louis XIV. through the regent Duke of Orleans, and his grandfather Louis XV. "But," the King added, "if I were at liberty to tell you, you would be surprised at the importance which has been attached to this incident." The thread was cut by the revolution ; for, during the latter days of his life, the unfortunate monarch had duties more serious, than the perpetuation of this traditional narrative.

\* Page 138, of the English edition.

mount." "Turn ye, and take your journey." (Deuteronomy 1. 6 and 7.) At that time, the Lord had given to the Jews the "Mount of the Amorites, and all the places nigh thereunto in the plain, and in the hills, and in the vale, and in the south, and by the sea side, to the land of the Canaanites, unto Lebanon, unto the great river, the river Euphrates." (Deuteronomy 1. 7.) And they were then directed to proceed immediately to take possession. "Behold, I have set the land before you; go and possess the land." (Deuteronomy 1. 8.) Before, however, the Jews commenced an expedition which would inevitably lead to hostilities, they determined to send out what in our Western country would be called an *exploring party*, and what is termed in the Scripture a party of spies; and the instructions given to Moses, upon this occasion, are remarkable for their practical good sense. The party was directed "to see the land, what it is, and the people that dwelleth therein, whether it be good or bad, and what cities they be that they dwell in, whether tents or strong-holds; and what the land is, whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein or not. And be ye of good courage, and bring up the fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the first ripe grapes."

This *exploring party* accordingly proceeded upon their dangerous tour, and penetrated to Hebron, which identifies the portion of the Canaanitish frontier, to which Moses intended to conduct his countrymen. "And the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, (not the Edomites,) dwelt on the mountains." These little tribes probably occupied all the country west of Canaan; and we may reasonably conclude, that Kadesh was not far from a direct line between Mount Sinai and Hebron, and that the intervening passes were occupied by a race distinct from the Edomites, with whom, as the descendants of Esau and their "brethren," the Jews were ordered not to "meddle." The spies returned in safety, and agreed in their report upon the fertility of the country, but differed in their estimate of its strength, and of the power of their people to force a passage. Two of them counselled an immediate advance; but the others, yielding to their fears, propagated the most alarming reports, representing the cities as being great, and walled up to heaven, and the people, sons of the Anakims, as greater and taller than the Israelites. Fear immediately gained the

ascendency in the Jewish camp, and with it came the usual reproach and lamentation, that Moses had led them, and that they had followed him, out of Egypt. The performances of the past, and the promises of the future, were equally disregarded. "Would to God, we had died in the land of Egypt," was the emphatic declaration of the multitude. During their whole route, whenever any difficulty occurred, they contemned the injunctions of their divine guide, and the remonstrances of their faithful leader, whose task, looking at the nature of the regions he traversed, and at the number and temperament of his countrymen, was one of the most irksome and responsible on record ; and they longed for the "flesh," and the "fish," and the "cucumbers," and the "melons," and the "leeks," and the "onions," and the "garlic," of Goshen. And, by the by, it is worthy of remark how, in this instance, as in so many others, the Scripture narratives are corroborated by the existing habits and manners of the Eastern nations. Every traveller in Egypt must have observed the immense quantity of these vegetables which are consumed there, and the large proportion which they furnish of the subsistence of the inhabitants. And it is thus we every day receive some new confirmation of the truth of the oldest and most authentic record of human history.

But the representations and the efforts of Moses were unsuccessful. "*Notwithstanding all, they would not go.*" Then the Lord, indignant at their ingratitude and perversity, doomed them to that long and painful sojourn in the wilderness, the incidents of which are almost all lost ; and interdicted to those of the nation, who were then over twenty years of age, except the faithful spies, Caleb and Joshua, the entrance of the promised land. "Surely they shall not see the land which I swore to their fathers." Then followed the terrible denunciation. "Your carcasses shall rot in this wilderness."

The Israelites, with that inconsistency which was so prominent a trait in their character, being terrified at the wrath of God, and at the malediction issued against them, and hoping to avert the decree, resolved to attempt to force a passage by the direct route, as they had at first been commanded. And, although Moses warned them not to go up, "for the Lord was not with them," still they persisted, and met the just reward of their new disobedience ; for the "Amalekites

came down, and the Canaanites, which dwelt in that hill, and smote them, and discomfited them, even unto Hormah."

But two routes, to attain their land of refuge, were then open to them ; one through the country of the Edomites, and probably by the valley of El Ghor, and the other to the east of the ridges of Seir, passing by the head of the Red Sea, attaining the high level country, beyond the present Akaba, and skirting the eastern frontier of Edom ; following nearly the present road pursued by the pilgrims from Damascus to Mecca. The former was the shorter ; but it was necessary, before taking it, to obtain the permission of the king of Edom ; not only because the Edomites were powerful, but because the Lord had prohibited the Israelites from "*meddling*" with them. An embassy was therefore despatched to the Edomite capital, asking a free passage through the country, and urging in support of it the ties of consanguinity which united the descendants of Esau and of Jacob, promising to "go by the king's highway, and not to pass through the fields or vineyards, nor to drink the water of the wells." But the king of Edom gave a peremptory refusal to this request, and embodied his forces for the defence of his country. It is probable he occupied a position upon his frontier, near Kadesh, upon the *coast*, till his dangerous neighbours had passed ; for we are told, that "Edom came out against him (Israel) with much people, and a strong hand ; wherefore Israel turned away from him, by the way of the Red Sea."

All direct access to their desired resting-place, through the heart of the Edomite dominion, being thus barred, there remained to them only the route by the head of the Elanitic branch of the Red Sea, and by the high plains skirting the eastern base of the mountains of Seir. It was, accordingly, at Kadesh, that the order was given to change the direction of this great moving colony. "But as for you, turn ye, and take your journey into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea," &c. (Deuteronomy i. 40.) "Then Edom refused to give Israel a passage through his border, whereupon Israel turned away from him, and the children of Israel, and the whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto Mount Hor ;" And after this follows the episode of Aaron's death and burial (Numbers xx. 21, 22, et seq.). And the position of Mount Hor is described, (Numbers xx. 21,) as being upon the *coast* or border of the land of Edom, suffi-

ciently indicating its position upon the frontier, and probably without it; for we have just seen, that even the border was interdicted to the wanderers. Kadesh and Mount Hor being upon the frontier, and the king of Edom being in the field to watch their movements, there can be little doubt but that the Jews, in marching from the former place to the latter, kept on the outside of the boundary, while the king of Edom accompanied their movements with a corps of observation within.

After this general view of the situation and objects of the Israelites and Edomites, can it be supposed, that from Kadesh the former did not *turn away*, but made an irruption into the very heart of Edom, and took possession of the mountain overlooking what Mr. Stephens, and others before him, have maintained to be the capital? Such a conjecture is not only gratuitous, but is in direct opposition to the whole narrative, to the progress and result of the negotiation, and to the Almighty prohibition. All commentators agree, that the mountains of Seir, extending south of the Dead Sea and round El Ghor, were the cradle of the Edomite power, the place where Esau established himself, and whence his descendants extended themselves into the circumjacent regions. No position ever assigned to Edom would make El Ghor its western frontier.

The conjecture of Colonel Leake, that Kadesh may have been in El Ghor, or the Wady, and that the Israelites would therefore pass down that valley to the Red Sea, is unsupported, as we have already shown, by the Scripture geography. It would exclude the whole of that great valley from the Edomite dominions, and after all would leave the real difficulty in full force. For the Israelites, to reach Mount Hor, must have left the valley of El Ghor, — their only path, says Colonel Leake, to the Dead Sea, — and proceeded up the Wady Mousa to Mount Hor. The distance we have not the means of ascertaining, for none of the travellers through this region furnishes us with accurate geographical details; but, judging from the map of M. Laborde, it cannot be less than fifteen miles; and this by a route, described by Mr. Stephens as a “continued ascent,” which “was difficult,” “where our camels toiled laboriously,” and where even the “sure-footed Arabians often slipped upon the steep and rugged path.” And the whole Jewish nation clambered

along this almost impracticable road, for no other reason, that we can discover, but to come back again.

Mount Hor is probably to be sought in some of the extensive ridges, which border the Dead Sea and the Red Sea, and of which Mount Sinai is a prolongation on one side, and Lebanon on the other. The word Seir\* seems to have been applied to the whole chain south of the Dead Sea; and the spot rendered memorable by the death of Aaron was certainly west of El Ghor, and probably in a northwestern direction from Akaba, among the mountains designated in that quarter upon M. Laborde's map.

From Arabia Petræa our author entered Palestine by the way of Hebron, and passed on to Jerusalem. He describes his impressions, when first he came within view of this city, *the city we may well say, whose associations are as imperishable as its everlasting hills.* The contrast between the sombre picture sketched by Mr. Stephens, and the bright and vivid coloring of Dr. Clarke, is an extraordinary proof of the different aspects, which the same object often presents to different travellers. Dr. Clarke's glowing account of his approach to Jerusalem is as follows;

“Ascending a hill towards the south, — ‘Hagiopolis!’ exclaimed a Greek in the van of our cavalcade; and, instantly throwing himself from his horse, was seen bareheaded, upon his knees, facing the prospect he surveyed. Suddenly the sight burst upon us all. Who shall describe it? The effect produced was that of total silence throughout the whole company. Many of the party, by an immediate impulse, took off their hats, as if entering a church, without being sensible of so doing. The Greeks and Catholics shed torrents of tears; and presently beginning to cross themselves, with unfeigned devotion, asked if they might be permitted to take off the covering from their feet, and proceed, barefooted, to the Holy Sepulchre. We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis; presenting a magnificent assemblage of

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\* That there are other parts of this chain, than those about El Ghor, specifically designated by the name of Seir, is proved by Deuteronomy ii. 2. “There are eleven days, by the way of Seir, from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea.” The Mount Seir, here described, being between Mount Horeb and Kadesh-barnea, must have been west of the valley of El Ghor.

domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries ; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendor. As we drew nearer, our whole attention was engrossed by its noble and interesting appearance." — Clarke's *Travels*, p. 286.

Mr. Stephens says, soberly, and without displaying the slightest enthusiasm,

"Stopping to water my horse at a fountain in front of the monastery, I turned to take a last look at Bethlehem ; and, my horse moving a few paces, when I turned again I saw in full view the holy city of Jerusalem. I did not expect it, and was startled by its proximity. It looked so small, and yet lay spread out before me so distinctly, that it seemed as if I ought to perceive the inhabitants moving through the streets, and hear their voices humming in my ears. I saw that it was walled all around, and that it stood alone, in an extensive waste of mountains, without streets, or even a solitary habitation beyond the walls. There were no domes, steeples, or turrets, to break the monotony of its aspect, and even the mosques and minarets made no show. . . . But all was tame and vacant. There was nothing in its appearance which afforded me a sensation."

Our own impressions, when we first saw the fallen city, from the top of one of the many rugged hills, which surround it, accorded much more nearly with those described by the American than those of the English traveller. But the difference in these pictures does not arise solely from a difference in the constitutions of the artists. Jerusalem is upon an inclined plane, opening to the northeast, and presents its fairest prospect to the traveller approaching it upon the road from Damascus, which, we believe, was the one followed by Dr. Clarke. But, from the south, the eye meets the higher part of the city, and rests almost exclusively upon its bleak hill and upon its dark and naked wall. It is indeed no longer "fretted with golden pinnacles," but neither did it strike us to be so utterly disconsolate in its appearance, as it is described by Mr. Stephens.

Our author pays a just tribute to the urbanity of the Mutse-lim, a governor of Jerusalem, and expresses much solicitude for his fate. He says ;

"Some months afterwards, at Genoa, I saw a brief article in an Italian paper, referring to a previous article, giving an

account of a then late revolution there, in which the Governor was on the point of falling into the hands of the insurgents. I have never seen any account of the particulars of this revolution, and do not know whether he is now living or dead. In the East life hangs by so brittle a thread, that when you part from a man in power, in all probability you will never see him again. I can only hope, that the Governor of Jerusalem still lives, and that his condition in life is as happy as when I saw him."

We can tell Mr. Stephens, with pleasure, that his hope has been fulfilled. There was no revolution in Jerusalem; the power of Mehemet Ali is too strong for that. His worthy friend, however, has retired to private life, and as yet avoided the bowstring. When we were in Jerusalem, all Christian tongues spoke his praise, and, perhaps, with the more sincerity, as he had been recalled and succeeded by another less kind and considerate. The story ran, that Moslem intolerance had been excited by the favor he exhibited to the Christians, and that such representations had been made to the Viceroy, as led to a change. We met him afterwards at table, in Damascus, and a fine picture he was of the Turkish gentleman of the old school. He was living in a retired way, but respectably; and we were happy to render him a slight return for his kind bearing to our worthy missionaries and countrymen at Jerusalem.

The Prince de Joinville, the third son of the French King, recently travelled in the East. After his arrival in France, the King, with that true sense of propriety, which distinguishes him, despatched a sloop of war to Beyroot with ample presents for all who had been attentive to his son. The worthy Governor we have mentioned was in office when the young Prince was in Palestine, and attended him through his government. Before the presents arrived, he had been superseded and had left Jerusalem. Owing to some misapprehension, those to whom the duty of distribution was intrusted, presented to the successor what ought to have been given to the predecessor. We heard of this *contretemps* on our arrival at Damascus, not from the party, but from a Christian consul, and, on arriving in France, we took care, that the facts should be known in the *right* quarter. Nothing more was necessary to insure the proper correction of the error. And we do not doubt, that the worthy



Mutselim has many a time since looked with complacency upon the *backsheesh*\* of the Christian Sultan.

Jerusalem has been a fruitful theme in the journals of the travellers. Tradition has marked the spot of every interesting incident, which the Scriptures record as having occurred within its walls. Credulity and skepticism have equally examined and discussed these legendary tales. Men of the ardent temperament of Chateaubriand and Lamartine believe every thing ; while others, like Volney, whose mental temperament is different, believe nothing. *Probably not one stone of ancient Jerusalem remains in its place.* They point to a part of the foundation of the walls, facing the valley of Jehoshaphat, where are some large blocks, apparently of an earlier age than the rest of the structure, and consider these as the relics of the ancient city. But this is a mere conjecture, resting upon no established proof. Jerusalem has been swept with the besom of destruction. The imprecations against it have been fulfilled. The Assyrian, the Greek, the Roman, the Crusader, the Turk, the Egyptian, have marched over its walls, and established their camps in its holy places. Superstition, fanaticism, revenge, have conspired to sweep away its monuments and to make it desolate. The great features of its topography no human power can change. They have been imperishably marked out by an Almighty hand. Its site occupies the projecting point of a high hill, bounded on the east by a deep, narrow valley, successive portions of which were called the valley of Kedron, of Jehoshaphat, and of Siloam, in the bottom of which flows the brook Kedron ; and on the southwest and south by the valley of Sihon, where trickles the little stream called Gihon. These rivulets unite, a short distance below the pool or spring of Siloam, and wind their way among broken mountains to the Dead Sea. On the northwest the city joins the table-land of the country, and it is in this direction, that it has been successively enlarged and contracted, as prosperity or adversity augmented or diminished its population. And, although it has been supposed by some writers, that the ancient city extended across the valley of Gihon, yet the conjecture has been advanced solely to render the legen-

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\* The Arab word for presents, which is dinned often enough into the ears of every traveller in the East, to make him nervous.

dary sites of some of the miraculous events, which occurred within its walls, consistent with Scripture narrative, and is contradicted by the nature of the ground ; for it is unreasonable to suppose, that the advantage of a strong position would be abandoned by enclosing a deep valley, when there was space enough on the table-land for indefinite extension.

He who visits the various sites enumerated by tradition in Jerusalem, should visit them without investigating too narrowly the evidence by which they have been established. He cannot, indeed, be far wrong ; for the compass, within which the facts occurred, is but a narrow one. And there is an indefinite sentiment of awe and veneration, in believing we are standing upon the very spot, where our Saviour was judged, was crucified, or was buried. If there were no idle mummeries around one, this feeling would be deeper and holier ; but it is impossible wholly to abstract ourselves from the circumstances with which superstition has invested these places. Still, the moment when he stands upon the hill of Zion is an era in the life of any man ; and he feels more concentration of existence at that instant, than is given to him to experience upon any other spot on the face of the earth.

Without the circuit of Jerusalem, uncertainty ceases. The Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane, Mount Gihon, the Mount of Evil Counsel, the pools, the fountains, the brooks, all remain as in the brightest days of Bible history ; deprived, indeed, of all their marble monuments, constructed when Solomon made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones, and when cedars were as the sycamore trees in the vale for abundance ; but impressive and interesting in their desolation. And he who can roam among these solitary places, without feeling his faith strengthened and his heart touched, has none of the true characteristics of a pilgrim, and will find himself a stranger in the Holy Land.

Our author had too much of the true spirit of a pilgrim not to visit Jericho, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. His recital of the journey is lively and amusing, and we have nothing more to expect from any traveller at this day. The country has been too often described, and its historical incidents too often recalled, to allow writer or reader to find any novelty upon the path. A more dreary-looking region we never saw but once, and that was upon the River Ontonogan,

which enters Lake Superior upon its southern side, and which, for barrenness and desolation, may have a rival, but can have no superior upon the face of the earth. And to those, who know the acuteness of the Indians, in directing their course through the forest, it is a sufficient proof of the nature of this district to say, that an active Chippewa, who was with us, was unable to thread his way out of this labyrinth.

From Jerusalem to the precipitous cliffs, overlooking the plain of the Jordan, the country offers a succession of high sharp hills, without trees or any kind of verdure, and covered with black, rugged rocks. The narrow path winds its way amongst these stupendous masses, following the gullies worn by the watercourses, until it attains the brow of the ridge, looking down upon the valley, the river, and the lake. And a quiet-looking sheet of water it is ; but oh ! how different from those beautiful reservoirs, which our own beloved country spreads out, embosomed among green and fertile hills, and variegated by all that can render them pleasant and useful. Within this vale there are no trees, no vegetation, no inhabitants, no domestic animals ; for a few miserable wandering Arabs are not enough to form an exception. Neither is there any soil to minister to the wants of man ; for a saline incrustation, deposited by the fogs of the sea, covers the earth, and is destructive to vegetable life. The descent of the mountain is so precipitous, that great care is necessary to prevent accidents. When we made this journey, the faithless guides were desirous we should pass the night at the miserable residence of the Sheick on the ruins of Jericho ; but, knowing the dirt and worse than dirt of an Arab village, we determined to avoid it. We were told, there was danger from some of the wild tribes, if we stopped short ; but we put our faith in the terror inspired by the name of Mehemet Ali, and slept soundly and safely at the spring of Elisha, and blessed the prophet for his miraculous intervention, which had converted the saline waters of this lovely fountain into as pleasant a draught as ever delighted a thirsty traveller. If this is not the fountain of the palm trees, where the Christian Knight and the Saracen Emir kept truce together, after the combat recorded in “ The Talisman,” we know not where to seek it. The topography, indeed, of this region is not in strict keeping, in this most interesting romance ; but, though false to fact, it is true to

nature. If the pilgrimage of the Scottish crusader led him to the convent of Santa Caba, in the desert of Saint John, his visit to the Dead Sea was a work of supererogation to himself, but most acceptable to the reader ; who finds in the description of this *détour*, some of the most powerful delineations of natural objects, and some of the most striking incidents, which we owe to the admirable genius of Scott.

The reverberation of the sun's rays gave to the vale of Siddim an equatorial heat in the month of August, and we raised ourselves from the fount of Elisha, and resumed our route to the Dead Sea, before the dawn of day, to avoid, as much as possible, the noontide sun. We traversed much of the space between Jericho and the shore of the lake in the night, and a most impressively mournful ride we had of it ; over barren sands, covered here and there by low, stunted bushes, every now and then striking us in the face, to warn us, as it were, that the home of the wild Arab was around us. And, as the streaks of morning light dawned over the mountain of Moab, a most extraordinary spectacle presented itself to our eyes ; an army appeared upon the dreary, deserted sand, between us and the dark water, which stretched away beyond our view, lost in the high ridges, which overhung it. No deception was ever more complete ; for long ranks of soldiers seemed drawn up, marching and counter-marching in all directions, with great regularity. It looked as if the genius of the place had embodied his forces, to bar all access to his gloomy dominions. And it was only as the day advanced, and as we approached the shore, that our formidable enemy assumed the peaceable shape of countless flocks of birds, of the heron species, who, the Arabs say, come to pass the night upon the sand, and in the day seek their food among the reptiles in the mountains. The immensity of their numbers exceeded all imagination ; and, if the regions of Palestine are fertile in nothing else, they must be most prolific in snakes, if the Arab *natural historian* may be trusted. And this is the Dead Sea, and below these dark waters are the sites, perhaps the ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah, such as "when the smoke of the country went up, as the smoke of a furnace." There is a tale, that nothing living, not even a bird, can ever cross this sea. But there is no need of imaginary stories to heighten the desolation of the scene, and we, as well as other travellers, can testify to its inaccuracy, by our

own observations. We believe, however, that its waters are unfavorable to animal life ; and, though a shell or two may be occasionally picked up upon the shore, yet these have been probably brought down by the Jordan. The water is excessively bitter and nauseous ; and, if additional evidence were wanting, we also could testify to its great gravity, and to the buoyancy of the human body, when immersed in it. It is only by much exertion, and for a very short time, that any one can get and remain below the surface.

We went from here to the Jordan, and struck the river, where tradition says, the children of Israel passed over, when they first entered the Land of Promise. On the west side is a low bottom, and on the east a high sandy bluff, and the shores of the river are covered with aquatic bushes. The water was thick and turbid, and the current rapid, and too deep to be sounded, "for Jordan overflowed all his banks, all the time of harvest." And here crossed the Jewish nation, over this turbulent stream, "on dry ground, until all the people were passed clean over Jordan." And we followed their route to Jericho, the frontier city of the Canaanites, where "the people shouted with a great shout, that the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city." There is no city now to take, nor are there any walls now to fall. There are a few miserable hovels, made of rude stones and mud, and the ruined walls of a building of the middle ages, where the wretched Arabs burrow, rather than live. Jericho has disappeared as completely as her rival cities, which sunk before the wrath of the Almighty. And it requires an effort to be satisfied, that here the great miracle, which attended the entrance of the Jews into Canaan, was performed, though the truth of the denunciation is before the eyes of the traveller ; "Cursed be the man before the Lord, that raiseth up and buildeth this city Jericho."

But the length of our article admonishes us, that we must take leave of our interesting companion, and suffer him to wend his way alone to Beyroot, across the hills of Judea, or on the plains of Galilee. And, whatever region we may hereafter visit, we desire no more pleasant guide upon the route, nor a more attracting narrative to recall the mind and manners of the country, after exchanging the excitement of the actual journey for its calm retrospect in the closet.

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3. — 1. *Speech of Mr. CUSHING, of Massachusetts, on the Subject of the Oregon Territory, delivered in the House of Representatives, May 17th and 22d, 1838.* Washington: Gales & Seaton. 8vo. pp. 13.
2. *Report of Mr. LINN, of Missouri, on the Part of the Select Committee of the Senate, to which was referred a Bill to authorize the President of the United States to occupy the Oregon Territory, June 6th, 1838.* Washington: Blair & Rives. With Two Maps. 8vo. pp. 23.

ONE of the extraordinary political phenomena of the age is presented by the unblushing pretensions of the English government to territory of these United States. While Great Britain is remonstrating, and that reasonably, against any hostile enterprises of our citizens on the side of Canada, she is putting a sober diplomatic face on a claim (one of the boldest ever ventured by an ambitious power) to about a third part of one of the States of this Union, while at the Northwest she more than tolerates her citizens in helping themselves to a country of ours worth half as much, at least, as the whole of British North America put together, and resists a peaceable adjustment of the controversy she has raised, till by actual settlement she shall have given more plausibility to her claim. We have thought it our duty, from time to time, to furnish to our readers some materials for forming a judgment on the arrogance of these assumptions; and having not long ago discussed at length the question of the Northeastern boundary, (Vol. XLIII. p. 413, *et seq.*) we have presented, in the present number, some statements relating to the right of this country to the Oregon territory, both on the ground of discovery, and of succession to the right of Spain. The subject was taken up at the last session of Congress, and brought before the Senate in the Report of Dr. Linn, with the formality and seriousness which its importance demands; while in the Speech of Mr. Cushing, in the other House, it was handled with that exact research and clear exposition, which distinguish the arguments of that gentleman. In such hands it will not be permitted to be lost sight of, nor suffer any other injustice.

#### ERRATA.

Page 8, line 22, for	Vitellii,	read	Vitellii.
" 13, " 22, "	Liguri,	"	Liguroæ.
" 15, " 5, "	Grecia,	"	Græcia.
" 15, " 38, "	Picinum,	"	Picenum.
" 16, " 23, "	Petruzzi,	"	Prætutii.
" 219, " 10, "	Pentanger,	"	Pentinger.